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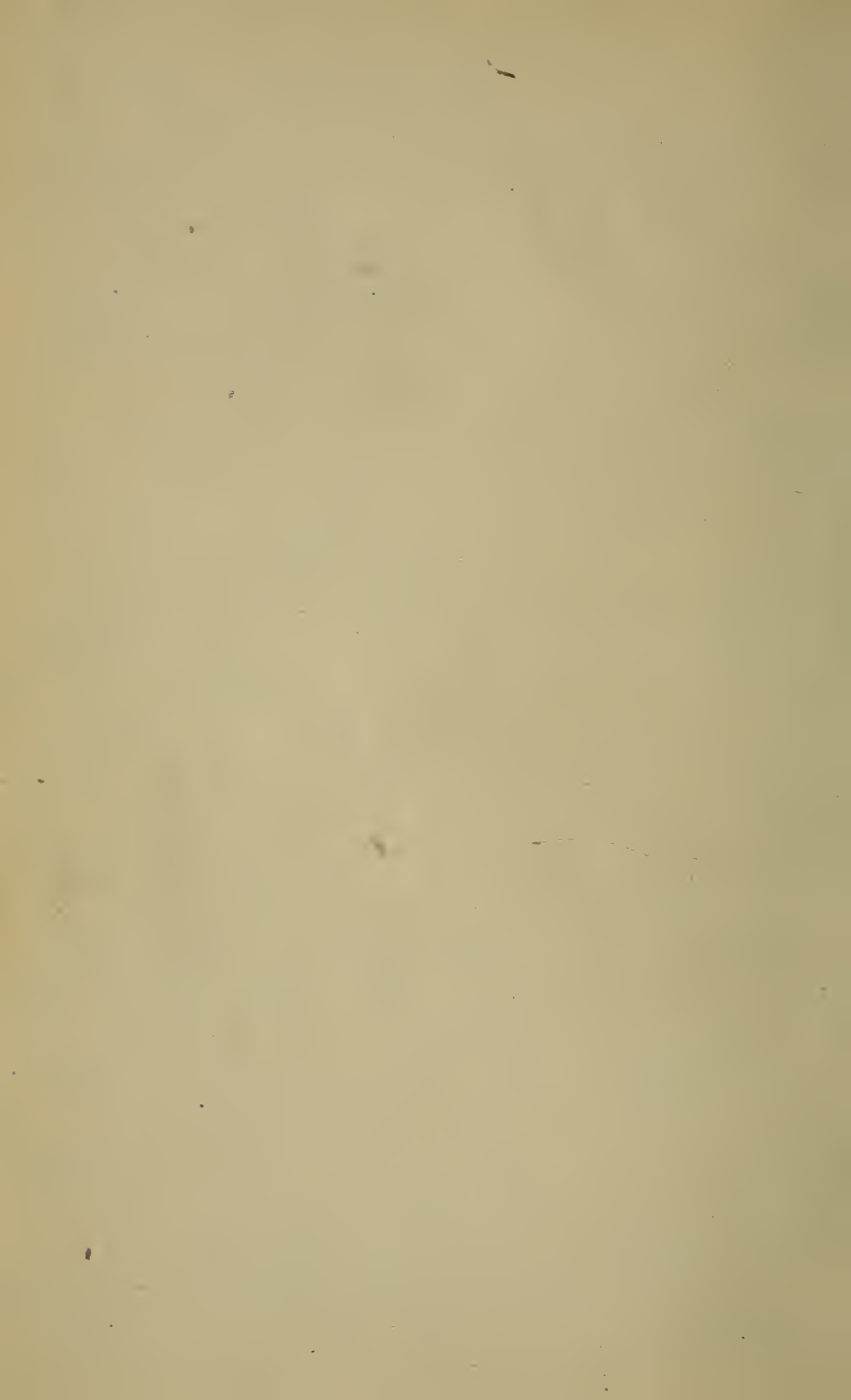
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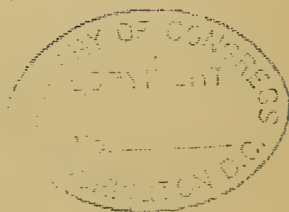


1666

GLIMPSES OF HISTORY.

BY

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GEORGE M. TOWLE.
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BOSTON:

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P R E F A C E .

THE ensuing historical and biographical sketches (for they claim to be no more), with two exceptions, are taken from leading American periodicals, to which they have been, from time to time, contributed. The subjects have been selected with reference to present interest. At a time when progressive forces are so active, narratives of men who have aided in the development of nations, and of scenes which were significant of transitions from a less to a more enlightened state, are certainly pertinent, and can hardly fail to interest. The endeavor has been so to present characters and events, that lessons may be aptly derived from them. John Bright, Count Cavour, and Alexis de Tocqueville are representatives of English, Italian, and French progress within the present age.

They all, more or less, have derived their experience from a contemplation of American institutions. Leigh Hunt, himself of American parentage, was a pioneer in literary reform. There is no happier illustration of the principle that man advances, than that afforded by the career of England within the past century.

It is earnestly hoped that, as far as this little volume shall reach the public eye, encouragement and trust in the principles of our own system will be derived from a perusal of the career of those large-minded men, who have sought the highest good of Europe by its imitation.

BOSTON, November, 1865.

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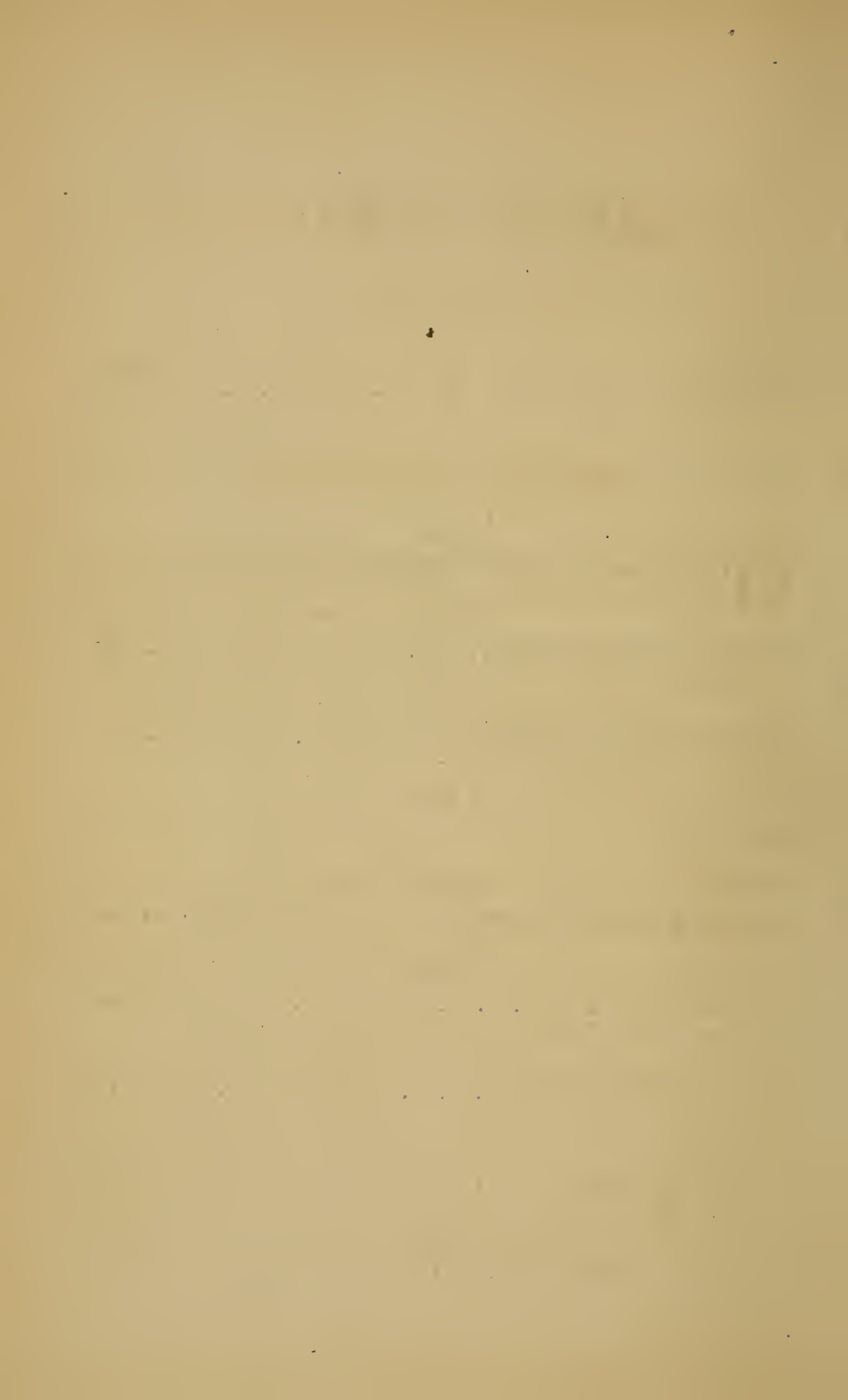
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GLIMPSES OF HISTORY.

I.

MEMORABLE ASSASSINATIONS.

OUR country, in the assassination of PRESIDENT LINCOLN, has witnessed, for the first time, the death of a public officer by violent hands. Hitherto it has been our lot to hear of such deeds at a distance of time and place, — among nations where tyrants have provoked a miserable fate, — in ages when the rude logic of the sword shaped events to the wish of the wicked and powerful. There is something so peculiarly atrocious in the murder of a good man, and especially of a gentle and humane ruler, for no discernible object save the gratification of a fiendish passion, that we are horror-stricken as we read them to have occurred centuries ago, and in distant countries. The shock which we ourselves have been doomed to receive, shows that we are not exempt from the afflictions of erring humanity everywhere. As we grow older as a nation, we can more and more appreciate the distresses and

calamities of sister nations, who, in their long struggle towards civilization, have been rent and torn by every misfortune in the range of the imagination to conceive. For good men have perished before, in the history of the world, at the hands of assassins. It is a fate not reserved to tyrants alone, but the deserving and the undeserving have alike suffered the calamity.

It is the object of this essay to give an account of the assassination of three of the greatest and best men who have illumined history ; men who were, at the moment they were stricken down, like our own lamented Lincoln, doing good service to their country ; two of whom, at least, were leading the van of enlightenment and freedom, and were battling steadily with the old systems, which would have still held the world in bondage to hierarchical and civil despotism. These two were both reigning princes by hereditary right ; yet they thought more for the liberties of mankind than for their own aggrandizement. To the liberties of mankind they became martyrs, as Lincoln has become a martyr to the same principle. When you come upon their names in history, pause, and venerate and glorify them ; pay to them in your thought the just tribute which their noble devotion to the noblest of causes claims from every generation ; linger fondly and reverently about the memory of these princes, who were unselfish,

brave, lovers of freedom, protectors of the oppressed of nations, terrors to the black traditions of the older ages, — and who died by stolen thrusts, aimed by the despotisms they would annihilate.

HENRY THE FOURTH, KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, surnamed the *Great*, ascended the throne at a time when the religious dissensions of his people were still kindled by the recollection of St. Bartholomew. He had himself narrowly escaped that terrific massacre, the work of Catharine de Medicis. Born and reared a Huguenot, he had been looked upon by that sect as their proper leader, and had devoted his early years to the protection of their cause. He was at the Louvre when the massacre occurred; and, to save his own life, and that of thousands of others, he had been constrained to abjure Protestantism, and to receive the Catholic communion. It was to save the Protestants of France that Henry of Navarre became a Romanist. By the death of Henry the Third, he became king; and after his accession, although nominally a Catholic, he continued to be throughout his life the strong shield and staff of the weaker religion. His reign was a series of successes in the field, reforms in council, and progressive strides in society. In every public department the energy and zeal of his great soul were apparent; and he was no less beloved for his paternal fondness

for all his subjects, than respected for his various abilities, and adored for his untiring devotion to France.

In the year 1610, King Henry was preparing an armament for a great design, which he had formed; and the rendezvous in Champagne soon became the headquarters of a large and brilliant force. His second queen, Marie de Medicis, had never been formally crowned; and Henry deemed it fitting, before he departed on the ensuing campaign, that this ceremony should be performed. His warm and affectionate nature suggested this as due to a consort whom he sincerely loved; and the queen herself was anxious that such a confirmation of her royal dignity should take place. They had already been married ten years. The queen was to be regent during his lord's absence. Her crown would be more secure if placed upon her head by the ministers of God.

After the preparations had been made, the disputes about precedence settled, and the court assembled, the coronation was at length fixed for Wednesday, the 11th of May, 1610. The ceremony was to be performed in the ancient cathedral of St. Denis, near Paris, where the kings of France had been crowned for centuries, and where each, as he departed, had been laid with royal pomp.

On the morning of the designated day, the king and queen, surrounded by their court, repaired to

St. Denis. At two in the afternoon, Marie de Medicis, conducted by the Cardinal of Gondy, and followed by the Prince of Conti, who bore the crown, the Duke of Vendôme, who bore the sceptre, and the Chevalier de Vendôme, who bore the Hand of Justice, entered the cathedral, which was crowded by a brilliant array of nobles and ladies, and at whose altar the prelates of the church stood ready to perform the ceremony. After the queen came the princesses of the royal family, carrying the train of her dress.

Marie de Medicis was then in the full bloom of mature beauty. That rich blonde complexion, those thick golden locks, that voluptuous form, which appear in the allegories of Rubens at the Louvre, had never been displayed to better advantage. Henry declared, in raptures, that "he had never seen her so beautiful." The ceremony was performed amid the deepest silence, and with that pompous solemnity which marks the pageants of the church of Rome. The king was observed to be in fine spirits, nodded to those whom he recognized in the multitude, and conversed freely with those who were about him. He was so restlessly happy, that he could not keep his seat, but moved from one place to another. He reprimanded the Spanish ambassador for remaining covered during the ceremony, and mingled his voice deeply in the service. During the whole of that

evening Henry continued of a happy mood, and was constant in the words of loving admiration, which he bestowed upon Marie's demeanor.

Many predictions and ill omens had been made concerning Henry's speedy death : these, indeed, were common in every reign. The queen had been told that in May she would receive a great affliction. A star of ill omen had appeared. A German horoscope had predicted his death. But the fearless heart of the hero of Ivry had rejected all such fables with contempt. On the morning of the 14th of May, he rose early, and received, with his usual cheerful and hearty manner, some of his councillors. To those who had not been at St. Denis, he described, with infectious enthusiasm, the splendor of the coronation, and the majestic bearing of Marie. "The joy he had conceived thereof," says one, "sat on his face all that morning, as he walked in the Tuileries." He went to mass, as was his wont. Before dinner he consulted an envoy, whom he had sent on a mission to Spain. After the meal, during which he had, as usual, discoursed with strong sense on matters of moment, he held a long conference with two of his ministers, Janin and Arnould. He told them that he was resolved to push the reformatations in the state with all energy. He would relieve the miseries and oppressions of his people. He would advance men for merit alone. He would call upon all his

servants to aid him in these designs. Such lofty thoughts occupied the mind of this great soul, so near the end of his career. He then paid a visit to Marie's apartments, and approached her with more than his wonted tenderness ; and after that, retired to his closet to write.

His faithful minister, Sully, who afterwards wrote his life, was lying sick at his house ; and the king, whose cordial nature prompted him to strong friendships, resolved to pay him a visit. About four in the afternoon, Henry left the Louvre, in an open state coach, with few outriders, and accompanied only by the Dukes of Espernon and Montbazon, and the Marshal Lavaudin. His bold and confident spirit had scoffed at the remonstrances of those who had besought him to go more guarded ; and such was his trust in his people, and his courage, that he went often unattended in the streets of the metropolis. On this day, the streets were all alive with the preparations which were making for the queen's royal entry ; and great multitudes filled every avenue. As the king passed through, the windows of his coach were open for the breeze. When he came to a narrow street, the Rue La Ferrierie, the crowd was more thick than ever ; two carts, filled with wine and hay, filled the passage ; the royal coach was obliged to stop ; the outriders were separated from it by the dense mass of

men and women. The king was at this moment sitting with his arm over Montbazon's shoulder, talking earnestly with him; and Espernon, who was on Henry's other side, was leaning forward to catch the discourse. Suddenly a man sprang forward from the crowd, and inflicted two wounds on Henry's unprotected side with a poniard. He essayed to inflict a third, but Montbazon threw himself before the king, and received the thrust on his doublet sleeve. One of the wounds was near the heart, and was mortal. Henry lifted his arm, and exclaimed, "I am hurt." But now the blood rushed out of his mouth in streams. Espernon, raising him in his arms, besought him to think on God. The glazed eyes turned fervidly heavenward, and the livid hands were clasped together. It was the last act of Henry. The horror and confusion of the scene was terrible. The criminal was struck and beaten, but was finally rescued from the enraged multitude. He was a crazed monk, and his name is infamously known as Francis Ravallac. He afterwards died a death of the most horrible tortures.

The coach turned back to the Louvre, and every remedy was applied, but in vain. The heroic, loving, daring heart was quite still. France had lost the best and greatest of her kings: the Huguenots their constant friend, their ever-watchful protector; and civilization its most enlightened pioneer.

That Ravallac was a frenzied bigot, that he was instigated by others more sound, and infinitely more wicked, there is no doubt. That blow came from Rome; and that blow, falling thus upon the most illustrious of monarchs and the most devoted of patriots, recoiled, in the conflict of the ages, upon the murderous breast which conceived it, and directed its too fatal aim.

It was in the midst of an heroic effort to free his country from the dominion of Spain, that WILLIAM THE FIRST, PRINCE OF ORANGE, fell a victim to assassination. To him the Dutch Republic looked with reverence and gratitude as the source whence it sprang. By his great abilities, added to his dogged perseverance, that little commonwealth had found itself capable of resisting the power of Philip the Second. Of no man can it be said more truly that he was the father of his people. Although the governor of a small nation in an obscure corner of Europe, his fame is very bright, and historians do not hesitate to compare him with Tell, with Gustavus, with Washington. William's character was certainly a remarkable one. He was an earnest patriot, yet he was very ambitious of power. He was reserved and silent, yet a lover of mirth, a princely host, and not a little of a wit in a quiet way; was often familiar with persons of no rank,

and was always courteous. Though stern of aspect, he was tolerant, liberal, kind. He had a quick and brilliant eye, which rightly indicated a faculty of penetration which was wonderful. He was as firm as the everlasting hills wherein he believed himself right. He is said to have been "magnificent in his hospitality." He was somewhat crafty, somewhat insincere; but he loved Holland, gave himself up to the achievement of her liberties, and at last died for her. Holland, through him, became free, and she wept for him as for the savior of her life.

Several attempts, instigated by the perfidious court of Spain or its agents, were made on the life of the stadtholder before the successful blow was accomplished. In the year 1582, the Prince of Orange assisted in the ceremonies which invested the Duke of Anjou with the sovereign dukedom of Brabant. The festivities and pageants had been on a scale of unusual splendor, and the Flemings for once gave themselves up to the unrestrained pleasures of the hour. On the 18th day of May, which was the new duke's birthday, a feast was held, composed only of the intimates of Anjou and William. As William, after dinner, was passing from the hall to his apartments, he was shot in the head. The ball entered at the right ear, crossed the mouth, and passed through the left cheek; and the prince fainted. The assassin was instantly seized by the people, and massacred

amid loud execrations. Maurice, the young son of the prince, examined the pockets of the corpse, to ascertain who he was. It transpired that he was a Spaniard, by name John Jareguy, the clerk of Anastro, a Spanish merchant, to whom Philip had offered eighty thousand ducats for William's life. Jareguy was a young fanatic, and had been prompted to perpetrate the act by religious frenzy. It is significant that, on the morning before, he had received absolution from a priest on account of the projected deed. William, though desperately wounded, recovered from this blow. He lay long at the point of death, and his convalescence was very slow; but his fine constitution at last gained the victory.

From this time William had a presentiment that he should die by assassination. He knew that the cunning and execrable king, whom he had made so bitter an enemy, would not rest with an attempt which had proved futile. And his presentiment, or, perhaps more properly, conviction, was not ill founded, as the issue proved. But several more attempts were made before there was success. In the same year, 1582, a plot was detected to assassinate both the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Brabant. Salcedo and Baya, the one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, were seized, and it was discovered by their confession that the King of Spain had bribed them, for an enormous sum, to assassinate both the princes. Within the next

two years, two persons, one a merchant of Flushing, the other a Spaniard, were convicted of a plot to murder William, and were summarily executed; and it was well known that — so active was the purpose of Philip to destroy his antagonist — Englishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards were on the watch, crouching until their opportunity to strike should come.

There was a young Burgundian, by name Balthazar Gerard, who was a religious fanatic of the most diseased order. Not without a certain cunning, he resolved upon a scheme for accomplishing a deed which had so often been attempted in vain. He insinuated himself into the confidence of the Prince of Orange by pretending to be the son of a martyr to the reformed religion. William, ever ready to do a service to such a one, had procured him an office of confidence near the Duke of Brabant. That prince died in the month of June, 1584, and Gerard was selected to convey the intelligence to William. The latter was then at Delft. The messenger was admitted to his bedside, and performed his mission. Had he then had a poniard, he said, he would have struck the fatal blow. When Gerard was about to depart, the prince made him a present of some money: this Gerard used to purchase the instruments of his patron's destruction. He purchased a brace of pistols. The next day, when the prince was at dinner,

Gerard came to receive his passport, but was desired to wait. The princess, passing, observed him to be restless, and noticed a certain tremor in his voice. When William came out from dinner the assassin was pacing up and down at the foot of the steps which led from the hall. Gerard approached the prince as if to receive his passport, and fired twice. The shot took mortal effect. William, falling on the steps, said faintly, "My God, my God, have mercy on my soul, and on this unhappy people." He was taken up and conveyed to a chamber, where, with his last words, he declared his soul to be committed to Christ. He died in great pain a few hours after the wound was given. Gerard fled for his life, but was easily captured. He confessed that the design had been harbored for six years. He had been urged to it by Jesuits, and by the Spanish agents. With the spirit of a confirmed fanatic, he expressed no regret at what he had done, and resisted the torture with marvellous complacency and courage. He underwent with equal fortitude an execution, the details of which were horrible.

William of Orange was laid in his tomb with a magnificent funeral. He was fifty-one years of age. He died mourned, as none other of his time could have been mourned, by Protestant Europe; and it is no wonder that such a storm of hatred and rebellion was stirred up, by the event, against Philip of Spain

and the execrable tyranny of Rome, that neither ever recovered from it. The poor lunatic who did the deed was forgotten amid the tremendous obloquy which was crowded upon his instigators.

Lord Brougham, in his vivacious sketches of "Statesmen of the Times of George the Third," has given us a graphic delineation of SPENCER PERCEVAL, prime minister of England, who was assassinated on the 11th day of May, 1812, in the lobby of the House of Commons. The suddenness of the event, the character of the victim, and the dignity of the office which he held,³ contributed to create the greatest horror at the deed throughout Europe.

Spencer Perceval was the second son of John, Lord Egmont, and was born in the year 1762. He received an excellent education at the Harrow School, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. Whilst at the university, the quickness of his talents was recognized, and it was determined by his family, a wealthy and influential one, that he should undertake the study of law. He was accordingly entered at Lincoln's Inn, where his progress was so great that he very early became a distinguished barrister at a bar illustrious for its brilliant and various abilities. The house of Egmont was rigidly attached to the court of George the Third, and to the state church.

They had clung to the king through all the storms which had followed upon George's accession to the throne. Their zeal for toryism was thoroughly bigoted and thoroughly obstinate. Spencer inherited the views of the family, and was, from the time of his entrance into Parliament as member for Northampton, a stern and unyielding advocate of the prerogative and the religious tests. When Mr. Addington became premier, in 1801, Perceval assumed office as solicitor general, and in the following year he was promoted to be attorney general. When Fox's ministry, weakened by the death of its great leader, fell in 1807, Perceval became chancellor of the exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons under the high tory ministry of Portland. The retirement of the latter, in 1809, opened the way for the chancellor to the highest dignity, and Spencer Perceval became prime minister of England.

As a statesman, Mr. Perceval is described to have been energetic, active, courageous, capable of application, and to have possessed a will which brooked no opposition. He was a ready speaker, though not eloquent, and maintained his part in the debates of the House with great credit, though not with conspicuous ability. His political doctrines were narrow and exclusive; but he thoroughly believed in them, and he was conscientious in adhering to them

in spite of every obstacle. He could see no merit in any principle which did not coincide with his own prejudices ; and with a courage which never faltered, he gave battle to his opponents at every step. He was sincere, most loyal, most devoted to the church. His private life was stainless. His temper was quick, but never malignant. He was a charitable man. "From all sordid feelings," says Lord Brougham, "he was entirely exempt, — regardless of pecuniary interest, — careless of mere fortune, — aiming at power alone, — and only suffering his ambition to be restrained by its intermixture with his fiery zeal for the success of his cherished principles, religious and civil." This is the language of a bitter political opponent. In truth, Spencer Perceval was universally respected and widely loved. No truer friend of England ever lived. If he was austere towards those with whom he differed, it was because he believed them to be aiming at the destruction of his country. A man, who, as he was, is honorable, pure, earnest, and on the alert, never fails to command the good will of those he serves. He was not great, as Pitt was great. He did not possess a lofty eloquence, a prolific genius, or a comprehensive intellect. But he was great as a party champion, quick in attack and strong in defence, and as steadfast as ever mortal was. He was always in the first rank of debaters, and he was popular throughout the

country. His parliamentary triumphs were frequent and complete ; and no man — not even Canning — was listened to in the House with a silence so respectful. Such he was when he ruled England as her first minister — able, popular, high-minded, bigoted, zealous, kind-hearted, and devoted to his country ; such he was when his career was suddenly and terribly cut short by the bullet of an assassin.

John Bellingham was a poor, unfortunate, broken-down Liverpool merchant, whose mind had long been depressed by a series of disasters in business. Among other misfortunes, he had met with some ill treatment in Russia. He applied to the government to obtain redress, through them, from the cabinet at St. Petersburg. Either the secretary of state was remiss in not attending promptly to the affair, or Lord Granville, the British ambassador at the court of Alexander, had neglected to adjust the claim ; at all events, the poor merchant failed to obtain the redress he sought. His spirit was so crazed and broken, that he conceived, in his desperation, a horrible design of revenge. His mode of reasoning seems to have been exceedingly irregular ; for he harbored malignity against every member of the government, as the joint authors of his calamities. He went to London, and watched for an opportunity to put his purpose into execution. That opportunity was not long wanting ; and he used it with an effect which has made him infamous for all time.

The House of Commons was at that time engaged in trying, by witnesses, the effect of creating English trade into a grand monopoly, which should hold the whole world to its dictatorship. Spencer Perceval, with all the ardor of his nature, threw himself into the conflict, and pushed the whole influence of the government in favor of such a monopoly. Brougham and Baring, leaders of the opposition, were resisting it with equal zeal. On the 11th day of May, the examination of witnesses was proceeding, which Mr. Brougham was conducting. Observing that the prime minister was not, as usual, in his place on the treasury bench, Mr. Brougham suggested that a messenger should be sent for him. The messenger had hardly reached the street, when he met Mr. Perceval walking rapidly to the House, leaning upon the arm of his friend Mr. Stephen. With a quickened and nervous step the minister hastened forward, and entered the lobby of the Commons, all ready for the conflict — there to meet his doom.

A man had been observed standing in the corridor which led to both Houses, with his hand concealed in his waistcoat. The Earl of Eldon, lord chancellor, on his way to the Lords, had observed this man lurking about, as if with an evil intent; and he afterwards believed, that had he not accidentally assumed an unusual dress, he would have been the object of the assassin's attack.

Perceval entered the lobby, followed by Mr. Stephen. A sharp, quick shot rang through the hall; and a moment after, the prime minister, staggering forward a few paces, fell dead into the arms of a member. The assassin was instantly seized, and, indeed, made no resistance. The speaker, Abbot, who happened to be out of the House, was sent for, and quickly made his appearance. The wretched assassin, who was Bellingham, was brought to the bar; a magistrate was summoned; he was committed to Newgate. The body of the murdered statesman was carried to the speaker's house, and thence removed in the morning to the late official residence of the deceased, in Downing Street. Lord Castlereagh, a few days after, presented to the House an address to the regent on the event; and, choked with emotion, proceeded to pay an eloquent tribute to his deceased colleague. He was followed by Canning, Ponsonby, and Whitbread, neither of whom could restrain his tears, and whose eloquence left no eye dry in the crowded hall. A pension was voted unanimously to the widow and children; and the memory of Spencer Perceval had nothing in it which any man felt an inclination to reproach.

As for the assassin, he was taken without resistance, and was executed on the 18th of May, just a week after the perpetration of his crime. Within that week he suffered arraignment, trial,

conviction, execution, and dissection. It appears that Bellingham had no especial malice against Perceval, but was resolved to kill any minister whom he happened to meet. He had been in the Court of Chancery, with the intention to shoot Lord Eldon, but had missed the chance. He had then repaired to the lobby. Lord Eldon had passed him, but, being dressed differently, he had not recognized him. The next was Perceval; and he fell a victim to the desperate revenge which the assassin harbored against all the members of the government.

II.

JOHN BRIGHT.

JOHN BRIGHT was born at Greenbank, near the thrifty town of Rochdale, on the 16th of November, 1811. His father was Mr. Jacob Bright, a gentleman who, by his own exertions, had risen from humble means to wealth, in the vocation of a cotton manufacturer. John was the second of eleven children, the oldest of whom died in infancy. The family were devoted members of the Society of Friends, and the subject of this sketch still adheres to the hereditary faith. John's health, during childhood, caused much solicitude to his parents. His constitution was apparently feeble, and it was found that study injured his already delicate system. At the age of fifteen he was taken from school, and placed in his father's counting-room. Mr. Jacob Bright was a shrewd, yet highly honorable man, entirely engrossed in the superintendence of his business, and an adept in the conduct of his manufactory. It was his ambition that his sons should follow in his footsteps, and should become, like himself, influential

members of the commercial community. He doubtless underrated, as the class to which he belonged is apt to do in England, the value of a university education; and as soon as the boys reached the suitable age, they were set to work in the mills. Had John Bright received the culture which a residence at Oxford or Cambridge would have afforded him, he would doubtless have occupied a place in the first rank of that group of accomplished statesmen who now grace either House of Parliament, and whose elegant erudition is as conspicuous as their enlightened statecraft. As it was, we find him spending his youth at the desk, learning how to buy and sell, and how to rule the miniature commonwealth which an English manufactory presents. In the discharge of these duties he proved himself skilful, prompt, and energetic.

As he grew to manhood, however, a new interest and a new ambition awoke within him. He had always been more of a thinker than the other members of his family. When scarcely twenty, he had addressed the people of Rochdale in favor of the great Reform of 1832, and with the effect of giving him at that early age a local popularity. He had seemingly thrown his vigorous mind into the study of the complex elements of the constitution, with especial reference to those parts which affected commerce and manufactures. From such studies he had become the confirmed disciple of those doctrines which, with

a narrower view to self-interest, the commercial class almost universally adopted. When the passage of the Reform Bill had quieted for a while the agitation on that score, Mr. Bright, his interest being now thoroughly awakened to the excitements of a public career, turned his attention to the temperance question, then much mooted in the larger towns. The idea of total abstinence was at that time new to Englishmen, and Mr. Bright was one of the earliest champions of that principle, which has since attracted so many powerful orators, and which has reclaimed so many from the debasement of the cup. In the year 1835, Mr. Bright, with a view to extending his experience, and in order to observe the systems of other nations, made the tour of the Continent, extending his travels to Athens and Palestine. On his return, he was invited to lecture before the local Institute at Rochdale, and he delivered a series of lectures, taking as his subjects the observations he had made abroad. These he followed by another series on questions more nearly connected with the practical interests of his auditors, — putting before them with admirable perspicuity the ideas he had formed on the commercial policy of England. About this time contentions arose respecting the church rates, and Mr. Bright took active ground for their abolition.

The sufferings of the manufacturing class now re-

vived that agitation against the corn laws which had once before engaged the earnest attention of the country. Mr. Bright had the patent evidence all around him of the misery which the inequitable adjustment of the tariff had created. The class over whom he had supervision were materially affected by this injustice. With that promptness which is one of his conspicuous qualities, he devoted himself to the study of the science which would open to him the causes, consequences, and remedies of the evils which a legalized monopoly had brought into existence. He found that the landed proprietors, whose influence in Parliament had long continued paramount through the protection of the Tory party, had secured laws which enabled them to enjoy the monopoly of the corn trade, to the practical exclusion of foreign competition. Prices were thus increased to such an extent as to put it beyond the power of factory hands, with the wages which their employers could afford to pay them, to buy bread.

The distress of the operatives from this cause was already great, and was constantly becoming more serious and more alarming. The lower classes of England have never been patient under unusual pressure. They are prone to take redress by violent resistance to law. Thus the agricultural ascendancy threatened to drive the rival element to desperation. The Tories, led by Wellington, already

obnoxious from their long opposition to reform, steadily maintained the existing laws, and continued to be the devoted partisans of the landed interest. The aristocratic Whigs, who were in power under Viscount Melbourne, and who were reaping the fruit of a reform carried by the coopération of popular leaders, were reluctant to do more than make slight modifications — modifications which still left the evil great and dangerous. At this juncture a new force sprang up, which from small beginnings finally effected a total revolution in the economical policy of the government. This was the Anti-Corn-Law League. It was instituted by a number of liberal noblemen and gentlemen in Parliament, who had the sense to perceive, and the wisdom to provide for, the gloomy crisis which seemed to be impending. Charles Pelham Villiers, a son of the Earl of Clarendon, and one of the ablest of the younger generation of statesmen, was the most prominent leader. The object of the association was to organize a crusade against agricultural tyranny, and to effect the abrogation of the odious laws by which farmers grew rich by starving manufacturers. As usual with all organizations for reform, the League at first met with clamorous denunciation from all quarters, was sneered at in Parliament, and laughed at by the great proprietors. But it grew rapidly. Every day people awakened more and more to the increasing

necessity. The champions of the League, spreading among the rural communities, eloquently pointed out the great evils which they sought to eradicate. They were untiring in their exertions, and their success was beyond their best hopes.

The great advantage to be gained by keeping their cause in constant agitation before the public, made the Leaguers desirous to employ active and eloquent orators. John Bright, in his twenty-seventh year, began to speak in advocacy of commercial reform in his own neighborhood. The League heard of him, called him to their assistance, and he became one of their authorized speakers. This was a triumph not a little flattering to a young merchant whose training had been in a manufactory, and to whom the field of forensic eloquence was entirely new. He was thoroughly convinced, both from observation and from a naturally quick reason, that the principles of which he was now to be a public advocate were just. His whole soul was in the effort to alleviate suffering, and to find a balance between interests which had been, but were not of necessity, conflicting. With that hearty zeal which has ever since marked his public career, he entered the political arena, turned over to his partners the affairs of the firm, and devoted himself to the study and exposition of the new commercial theories. Through the influence of the League, he obtained opportunities to

speaking in many considerable places; and he every day increased his reputation as a vigorous reasoner and a pleasing speaker. He went boldly into the agricultural districts, where the hard-headed old Tories who believed in Wellington formed his audiences, and put to them unwelcome truths, which they found it hard to swallow. On one occasion he appeared before a large assemblage at Drury Lane Theatre, when the effect of his eloquence was such that his name became immediately known throughout the kingdom. Copies of the speech were distributed by order of the League, and Bright found himself in demand from all quarters. Working in concert with Villiers, Morpeth, and the other leaders, he assisted in instituting branches of the League in the principal cities. Besides his unquestioned ability as an orator, he had one advantage which most of his co-workers did not possess, — he was emphatically a man of the people. He came out from the busy community in which he was born and reared, to labor for the people. Those who might distrust a Villiers or a Howard, — who might suspect that an agitation set on foot by noblemen was designed for selfish ends, — who might be indifferent to those whom they had been accustomed to regard as political schemers, — would trust and follow one who threw aside his commercial vocation, and came forward to sustain that commercial interest in which he himself was con-

cerned. He could gain the ear and reason of many who would not listen to one whose profession was political agitation. Thus his influence became considerable ; his origin reassuring his hearers, his eloquence charming them, and his honesty and earnestness commanding their sympathy and approval.

The rapid spread of free-trade principles, resulting from the organized efforts of the League, and from the demonstration, which actual occurrences confirmed, that the farming monopoly could not continue, gave the leaders of the League much importance in Parliament. The Whigs, nay, even the more moderate Tories, began to profess conversion to free-trade doctrines. When Parliament was dissolved in 1841, both parties went to the country on the issue of free-trade or protection. Sir Robert Peel, who afterwards became the patriotic instrument by which the corn laws fell, represented those who adhered to protection and the agricultural interest. Lord Melbourne came forward as the advocate of those principles which the League had been the first to avow, and which as premier he had not been anxious to put in practice. Notwithstanding the reform of 1832, the landed nobility still retained a large control in the composition of the House of Commons. Peel had organized the conservatives with great tact, and the ministry of Melbourne was suffering from the weakness of internal dissension.

The result of the election was, that Peel's candidates were generally successful. He gained a clear working majority in the House, and consequently became prime minister.

It was soon after the conservatives thus attained office, that John Bright came forward as a candidate for Parliament, in the northern city of Durham. The free-traders were wise enough to seek the assistance of the best men their ranks could furnish. Bright, it was universally thought, would be a valuable auxiliary, coming as he did from the mercantile class, and possessing a clear mind and ready tongue. Durham was conservative by tradition. In 1843 the city rejected Bright; but in 1844, so rapid was the growth of Liberalism, that the same constituency returned him to the House of Commons by a handsome majority.

Meanwhile Sir Robert Peel, elected and supported by protectionists, was gradually turning his steps towards the more liberal policy which his opponents had advocated. Soon after assuming office, he had proposed a modification of the tariff. The Duke of Buckingham, representing the extreme wing of the protectionists, resigned in alarm. The premier did not falter, but approached still nearer the free-trade standard. Lord Stanley, a stronger man than Buckingham, retired from the council-board. When John Bright entered Parliament, Peel was rapidly

coming to the abolition of the corn laws. Bright at once mingled in the debates, which now daily absorbed the attention of the House, on the one question before the country. The little band of Leaguers stood in the front rank of the opposition. They were pressing Sir Robert, by steady and oft-repeated appeals, to make the final concession. To the voices of Villiers, Morpeth, Russell, Gibson, were added the sonorous tones of the merchant-orator; and he maintained the debate with the best, whether of friends or foes. He reasoned with such clearness, he brought the evils of the corn monopoly so vividly before the minds of his auditors, he pressed the necessity and justice of its abrogation with such power of argument, that from that day he took rank as one of the first speakers and logicians in the lower House.

Sir Robert soon threw aside all party and selfish considerations, and did fearlessly what his judgment convinced him was urgently demanded by the interests of the country. He proposed the repeal of the corn laws. He thus exhibited a rare spirit for an English statesman — a spirit of self-sacrifice for the public good. His old associates assailed him with bitter, powerful eloquence. The Whigs, whose thunder he had stolen, looked with the coldness of partisan selfishness upon his conversion to their views. But in spite of every discouragement, he carried that

magnanimous measure through both Houses by his influence as first lord of the treasury. Hardly ever during the present century has Parliament been more electrified by stirring and splendid contests of forensic genius, than during these debates on the repeal. And in these debates John Bright proved a worthy competitor to Disraeli, whose caustic oratory was justly feared, — and to Stanley, whose excellence in rejoinder made him to be regarded as the equal of Fox in extempore debate.

The fall of Sir Robert Peel, who could not retain power whilst Tories and Whigs were alike arrayed against him, was followed by the elevation of Lord John Russell and his Whig friends to the ministry. Several of the leaders of the League accepted office; but John Bright received no overtures from the new premier. No thought of personal ambition, indeed, seems to have entered into his views. Possessing that independence and fearlessness which men of his origin are apt to exhibit, and deeply interested in the new field in which he found himself, his sole desire seems to have been to arrive at a knowledge of what would most benefit his country. In this search he rejected all party creeds. He declined to put himself under a pledge to abide by the will of a caucus. He considered himself bound by no precedent which was unjust, committed to no policy which did not have a present reason. He was ready to act with the party

that sustained, in each individual case, the measure which he considered right; nor would he hesitate to vote with those with whom he usually found himself at variance, if they brought forward measures which his judgment approved.

At the time Lord Russell came into power, Mr. Bright was regarded as opposed to the established church and to the House of Lords, as favorable to a system of general suffrage, and as decidedly anti-monarchical in political theory. With opinions so radical the aristocratic Whigs were the last to have any sympathy. They were much less likely to encourage that class of politicians than their old antagonists, the Tories. The reason is evident. Radicalism, by startling the masses by the novelty of its doctrines, and thus driving a large majority to seek certain safety under the protection of the Tories, had kept the Whigs out of Whitehall for half a century. John Wilkes and Horne Tooke secured Pitt in his power. Francis Burdett and his confederates faithfully served Liverpool. If Lord Russell should recognize the later Radicals by calling one of their leaders to his counsels, he might well fear a defection far outweighing the acquisition. Thus Mr. Bright, an active participant in the contest for free trade, which had just resulted in a complete victory, cheerfully continued to be simply an independent commoner, representing the constituency of Durham, —

free to judge, and to speak his honest thought, — at liberty to advocate reforms more thorough than ministers dared to propose, — ready to represent the feelings and wants of that great multitude of Englishmen to whom the time-worn restrictions of the franchise prohibited a voice in the government, — anxious to keep ideas in agitation which needed stout hearts and steady heads to maintain them in existence.

In 1847, the ministers having caused his defeat as member for Durham, he became the successful contestant for the seat for Manchester. This metropolis of manufacture was then the centre, as it is now, of extreme liberal notions. The fame of Mr. Bright, who had gone forth into public life from its immediate neighborhood, was grateful to a district which sorely needed such an advocate. He continued to represent Manchester through the Parliament which sustained and finally ousted Lord John Russell. In 1852, when the premier, joining issue with Lord Derby (formerly Lord Stanley), went to the country, Mr. Bright again stood for Manchester, and was gratified by receiving a majority of eleven hundred. It was the just reward of labors incessant and courageous, to keep the interests of the constituency always before the legislature, and to bring about that system of equality to which they were thoroughly devoted. Mr. Bright continued to represent Man-

chester until 1857. During the session of that year, the late Mr. Cobden, the earnest co-worker with Mr. Bright, brought forward a motion condemnatory of the Chinese war, then transpiring under the conduct of Lord Palmerston's government. The House divided against the minister. The Radicals and Conservatives were in a majority. Palmerston dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the nation. Bright once more went before his constituents, on the issue of war or peace with China. His notions respecting the iniquity of war in general, which resulted from his Quaker education, and his opinion that this attack on the Celestial Empire was especially unjustifiable, were not welcome to the electors of Manchester. His opponent, like himself a radical Whig, but an advocate of the war, was returned by five thousand votes. In 1859, Palmerston being again forced to the expedient of a new election, Mr. Bright was invited to stand as a candidate for the constituency of Birmingham, by whom he was returned to Parliament, where he has since continued to represent them. Here he has been very active in the advocacy of his own peculiar doctrines, some of which have within a few years gained much in public estimation. Independent of all parties, he votes usually with the ministry, but sometimes follows Mr. Disraeli and Lord Stanley below the bar on a division of the House.

This record of eighteen years in the House of Commons is certainly a remarkable one. While constantly opposing both of the great parties, Mr. Bright has won the respect of all. His ability as a logician and as an effective speaker, and his evident honesty and earnestness of purpose, are conceded by every one. The courage and persistency with which he has upheld unpopular doctrines compel the admiration of those who recoil from the changes which he seeks to effect. It is not too much to say that his character has greatly enhanced the influence of those for whom he acts, and of whom he is the unquestioned leader. The Radicals were a mere handful when Bright entered Parliament. They are now beginning to be feared. Several of the largest and most prosperous cities regularly send Radical members to Westminster. Some of the profoundest thinkers in England are inclined to admit that the time is approaching when Radical ideas shall become practical. Many of them already declare these ideas to be abstractly just. The English are getting *accustomed* to Radical doctrines. In due time they will be ready to pass a fair judgment upon them.

The progressive party in a nation too often possesses leaders who, being low-born, are coarse and lawless, or who seek to foster discontent by an artful demagoguism. A good cause is often discountenanced and rendered futile by reason of the igno-

rance or wickedness of those who have been prominent in its advocacy. John Wilkes and Thomas Paine scandalized the cause of progress in their time by the profligacy of their lives and the badness of their motives. So did Robespierre and Danton by the cruel ambition which actuated them. The character of such men naturally frightened people of honest intentions from their leadership; while the extremities to which they carried their views deterred men of practical sense from upholding them. The reformers of the present generation, however, exhibit traits which command respect. They pursue a course which, if not altogether moderate or suited to the times, is evidently grounded upon deductions of thoughtful reason.

If we were to compress the description of Mr. Bright's character into a few words, we should say he was honest, earnest, fearless, eloquent. He is honest; for he casts aside the objects of personal ambition in a life devotion to an unpopular cause. He is earnest; for he is constant to his faith, untiring in the effort to instil it into the community. He is fearless, — morally fearless; for he permits no obstacle, no obloquy, no powerful antagonism, to check him in the expression of unwelcome thoughts. He is eloquent; inasmuch as he stands up amid the silence of the most critical and restless legislature in the world, and compels members to listen, without

interruption, to ideas which, in the opinion of the vast majority, are hateful and destructive. His character, as it has been displayed by a consistent public record, bears the stamp of truth and ingenuousness. He is candid, almost to a fault. He has no subtle statecraft; he recognizes no code of expediency. He is impatient of that spirit which actuates statesmen, as a class, to sacrifice something of good for the practical attainment even of a worthy end—a spirit which, for our own part, we cannot wholly disapprove. While as a business man his integrity is perfectly unimpeachable, as a legislator his opponents have only to fear his strong and indignant eloquence: they are safe from any thrust which is not open and manly. He was not destined to become a great statesman: he is too rash, too little tolerant of antagonistic opinion, too much inclined to absolute conclusions, too open by nature in giving expression to his thoughts. In the demolishing process which properly precedes, in a long-established polity, the constructing process, he has every quality which would fit him to be a leader. His Quaker blood is of little avail in making him sit in patience whilst deep social wrongs stare him in the face on every side. The uprising of the people, especially that peaceable uprising to which the English people are by nature and precedent inclined to resort, seeking to cure by prompt action what statesmanship has failed

to mend, would give him the best of opportunities. Quaker though he is, he would revel in taking the van of a lawful reformation aimed at the abuses he hates so heartily. So far as the expunging of an iniquitous law from the statute-book goes, his work would be well done; but when the time came to fill up the page with a new and just enactment, it would be his part to yield to more deliberate and judicious counsels. Like Lord Brougham, he is great in opposition. He can defend well; he can attack far better. Aggressive warfare is his forte. He is as positive in his theological and social as in his political opinions. He is a practical philanthropist, leads a life of strict probity and temperance, and seeks his pleasure, as well as his duty, in benefiting the human race. He carries the nervousness and enthusiasm of his public displays into the amenities of private life. Hearty in his friendships, and affable in social intercourse, he is liked by most persons, and respected by all. He possesses in a remarkable degree that faculty which is considered as the trait of an accomplished gentleman — the faculty of putting you at once at your ease. In temperament impulsive, he is perhaps too little mindful of the feelings of others, and somewhat careless of his expressions when pursuing a subject in which his attention is engrossed. In his manner there is a blunt sincerity which one who is in his company for the first time is

apt to mistake almost for ill temper. It, however, results from his entirely candid disposition, his rigidly practical and business education, and his carelessness of forms, — by no means from a want of kindness, or an intention to be discourteous.

A first glance gives one a very good impression of Mr. Bright's character. He is of medium height, a little inclined to corpulency, and quick and nervous in his movements. His eye is full of intelligence, — small, bright, and sharp, apparently powerful to read another through the countenance. Its expression is, perhaps, a little hard ; it seems to search your thought, and to detect the bent of your mind. His face is a true British face, — round and full, with firmly-set mouth, positive chin, and that peculiar sort of *hauteur* which is a national characteristic. His hair, somewhat gray, is brushed off his forehead, which is broad and admirably proportioned ; and he wears whiskers on the side of his face, like most middle-aged Englishmen. His voice is clear, his enunciation rapid, yet distinct, and his choice of words exact, — excellent, indeed, for one self-educated in the correct use of language.

Mr. Bright is very attractive as an orator. When it is known that he is to speak, the galleries are insufficient to hold the multitude which gathers to hear him. His delivery is prompt and easy. He has none of that hesitation and apparent timidity which

mark the address of many English orators ; but neither, on the other hand, does he possess that rich and fascinating intonation which forces us to concede the forensic palm to Mr. Gladstone of all contemporary Englishmen. He expresses himself with boldness, sometimes almost with rudeness. His declamation is fresh, vigorous, and almost always even. At times he is unable to preserve the moderation of language and manner which retains the mastery over impulse ; his indignation carries him away ; his denunciation becomes overwhelming ; his full voice rings out, trembling with agitation, as he exposes some wrongful or defends some good measure : then his vigorous nature appears, unadorned by cultivated graces, but admirable for its manliness and strength. This impetuosity, which is so prominent a characteristic of his oratory, is in marked contrast with the manner of the late Mr. Cobden, his friend and coöperator. Mr. Cobden was always guarded, cautious, and studiously accurate, in his language. Mr. Bright often says things, in the excitement of controversy, which exaggerate his real sentiments, and which may be used to misrepresent his opinions. Mr. Cobden, whose temperament was more phlegmatic, was careful to avoid any undue heat of speech, and hence often passed, erroneously, for a more moderate thinker than Mr. Bright.

It is with pleasure that we turn for a moment to

speaking of Mr. Bright's course towards America, and especially while we were suffering under the plague of civil war. Ever since he entered public life, his admiration of our institutions and history has been frequently the subject of his discourse. He has not hesitated to declare that feeling when he must have been aware how unwelcome it was to the greater part of his countrymen. He has, indeed, recognized in our success the practical attainment of those views to which he has so long been devoted, and which his experience as a public man seems only to have confirmed. His magnanimous mind has scornfully rejected that too prevalent English characteristic — envy at the growing power of a sister nation. He has only seen in our progress a benefit and an example to mankind. As such he has gloried in it, and not the less because we are a kindred race and an offshoot from British civilization. The fact that we have been the inheritors and partakers of the glories of the English nation, which seems to increase the asperity with which many English statesmen now regard us, is to Mr. Bright a greater reason why sympathy should be extended to us. His speeches on America manifest a thorough knowledge of our history and of the spirit of our Constitution. He has studied us in the earnest desire to know and believe the truth, and faithfully to present to others the results of his study. We do not think it extrava-

agant to say that few of our own public men evince a more intelligent knowledge of our record than Mr. Bright: certainly in this respect he is far in advance of the leading English statesmen. When, in 1861, the rebellion broke out, Mr. Bright raised his voice boldly against the non-committal policy of England in declaring herself neutral. He seemed to comprehend at once the causes of the war. He correctly regarded the North as really on the defensive, — defending the integrity of the nation. He saw the cause of republican liberty trembling in the balance. From that day to this, — at times when public indignation ran so high in England that it was almost dangerous to justify the North, — at times when to avow Northern sentiments was to be met with a howl from Spithead to the Firth of Forth, — at times when his own supporters, the manufacturing and commercial classes, feeling sore over the want of cotton, bitterly complained, and pleaded for intervention, — John Bright has been our constant, zealous, and fearless champion, braving all England in our cause, and never silent when we were to be vindicated. In the issue of the war Mr. Bright will see the fruition of the hopes of the lovers of liberty everywhere. He will rejoice in it as the successful assertion by national power of those principles which he has devoted his life to advocating. To his mind the assassination of Lincoln will appear as the legitimate fruit of Southern

treason. We may be sure, that, whilst the press of England endeavors to divert the guilt of this atrocity from the heads which gave birth to it, there is one Englishman at least — that Englishman John Bright — who will be bold to trace it to its proper source.

We can do no better than to close this notice by quoting the conclusion of a speech made by Mr. Bright in December, 1861, to which our attention has been called during the preparation of this article.

“Whether the Union will be restored or not, or the South will achieve an unhonored independence or not, I know not, and I predict not. But this I think I know, that in a few years — a very few years, the twenty millions of freemen in the North will be thirty millions or fifty millions — a population equal to or exceeding that of this kingdom. When that time comes, I pray it may not be said among them, that, in the darkest hour of their country’s trials, England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness, and saw unmoved the perils and calamities of her children. As for me, I have but this to say: I am one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country; but if all other tongues are silent, mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondmen of the South, and tends to generous thoughts and generous words and

generous deeds between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name."

Let Americans honor the Englishman who spoke thus nobly !

III.

THE OPENING SCENES OF THE REBELLION.

UP to the fall of 1860, the republic in which we live had prospered beyond the most sanguine hopes of its projectors, and beyond the most exaggerated fears of its enemies. The years, as they passed, brought us renewed evidence that we lived under the peculiar favor, and were blessed with the gracious beneficence, of the great RULER of rulers. At first, to all a doubtful, and to many a visionary experiment, our people began to congratulate themselves, as time lengthened history, that they had at last attained a system perfect in its symmetry and vigor, and the stronghold of intelligent independence. We had become great in every department of civilization : in the justice and equity of our laws, in the efficiency of our political powers, in the surprising progress of education, in the establishment of a high public morality, in a sagacious and discerning appreciation of art, in the encouragement of all the varied reforms of science, in the rich and exuberant growth of literature, in the universal dissemination of religious light.

Every guarantee of liberty had reached, in our commonwealth, approximate perfection. Our independence of foreign nations was established; the press was free; men used speech without the thralldom with which fear of insurrection had compelled more arbitrary powers to restrain the expression of thought; the trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the independence of judges, the right of petition, free communion, locomotion and emigration, the right to worship according to one's own conscience, publicity of trial, the right of association, popular taxation, had all assumed the proportions of an enduring political fabric. Foreign potentates admitted our envoys to high positions in their rolls of precedence; and majestic vessels, with the American bunting floating from their masts, dotted every considerable port of both hemispheres. The partisans of concentrated nationalities looked with suspicion and dread upon a people who, for the first time in the history of the world, had successfully refuted the despotic doctrines of Metternich and Hildebrand. From our example, the oppressed nations of the continent derived enthusiasm and hope to achieve a like independence for themselves.

The United States were in a full career of advancement, and the people were never so proud of the past or hopeful of the future, when the ordeal through which we have been passing came slowly upon us.

The nation, as they had done eighteen times before, repaired to the ballot-box on the 4th of November, to choose once more a representative of their sovereign power; and although mutterings were heard throughout the campaign, as of discontent and resistance, all went to the polls with confidence, and buoyed up with the hope that no detriment could follow the just exercise of an inherent right. Those who were ill-wishers of the Union were accounted few and despicable. Surely, men reasoned, no powerful combination will essay to subvert a system for the loss of power, the security of which has made it an example to all nations. Surely no one who has been reared under its wide and gracious protection, will turn, like the viper in the fable, and poison the breast which has given him the most generous nourishment.

But while we were lulled into fatal repose, the conspirators against our peace were assembled under the dome of the national Capitol. In Congress, in the executive council, in many civil, military, and maritime trusts, were the accomplices of this foul conspiracy concealed; and while enjoying the bounty of national patronage, they were devising the annihilation of the common benefactor of all. The election of Abraham Lincoln as president was the signal for the opening act of the monster scheme, — monstrous in its magnitude, in its motive, in its arrangement, in the de-

fiance of every dictum of absolute or relative right. One section was aroused by menace, by casuistical argument, by appeals to local pride, and by every subtle art which bad men know so well how to use, and from which supreme wickedness does not shrink.

Their unprincipled leaders assumed with more audacity the true consequences of their theories, and began to engage earnestly in the accomplishment of their long-contemplated scheme. The President of the United States became the ready dupe of their specious deceptions. The secretaries of the treasury, of war, and of the interior became zealous coadjutors of the plot. The finances of the government were employed with a view to promote their secret schemes. The secretary of war, a man of inferior ability, but of refined villany, imported arms and munitions into the arsenals of the South, and appointed his own myrmidons to the most eminent posts of the army corps. The secretary of the navy, either culpable as being indifferent, or as being an accessory, disposed the maritime power so that it should at all events be powerless to aid the government. And but for the admirable devotion of one man, whose zeal for the salvation of his country called forth the veneration and love of all patriot hearts, — but for Joseph Holt, — the whole machinery of the executive would have assisted in the destruction of the nation which they governed.

In the Senate of the United States, the champions of the conspiracy began to avow and defend the revolutionary maxims which they had already begun to put in practice. The doctrines of secession were audaciously advanced and secretly practised. State after state followed in startling succession the bold lead of South Carolina; and their representatives began to retire from both Houses of Congress, not omitting the opportunity to denounce the government in malignant and treacherous anathemas. The writer was present in the Senate when the farewell speeches of the seceding members were delivered. The coarse fury of Iverson and Toombs, the passionate tirade of Clay, the drunken and ghastly jests of Wigfall, the cold, remorseless satire of Benjamin, the insidious appeals of Hunter and Mason, and the more calm and subtle eloquence of Jefferson Davis, celebrated the dawn of an insurrection surpassing in its magnitude that of Cromwell, and more causeless and hateful than that of Catiline against Rome. The loyal senators were constrained to sit in silence hour after hour, under the traitorous insinuations of the enemies of the republic. But they were not betrayed, even by so enormous a provocation, into any rash experiment or lawless act. Those who had before hoped against hope for a settlement of the great evil, now abandoned such ideas as futile; and for the first time the eyes of patriots were fairly

opened to the desperate earnestness of the disaffected states. The loyalists in Congress, however, could but wait for the accession of the new executive, for the remedies which alone could heal the gigantic distemper. This was the state of our national affairs when the day of inauguration approached.

Meanwhile the personal safety of the president elect was threatened; the malcontent politicians about the bar-rooms of Washington and Baltimore began to cast out significant hints, and plots were discovered which placed the danger of the president beyond a suspicion. Troops were ordered to the Federal city to quell any disturbance which might arise on the 4th of March. Mr. Lincoln, prudently advised, stole a march on his enemies at Baltimore, and came through the hostile city protected by the shades of night.

The great day on which Abraham Lincoln was to assume the trust, now very momentous, imposed upon him by the suffrage of the people, came at last; and many arose, on that memorable morning, with forebodings, lest nightfall should close upon some stupendous calamity. In the metropolis, thousands were astir at an early hour. Troops and officers were seen passing from one point to another, and messengers galloping in all directions. Towards noon, great masses of human beings thronged the sidewalks, roofs, balconies, and the vast area be-

neath the eastern portico of the Capitol. In the Senate-chamber were gathered the most illustrious of the land. The spectacle which that scene presented must have struck every cultivated and imaginative mind which beheld it. All the interest which commonly belongs to the occasion was superadded to the special interest which was contributed by the condition of the country and the danger of the hour. The new hall of the Senate, decorated with more taste and modesty than that of the lower House, presented its best appearance. The senators, headed by the young and handsome vice-president, entered two by two, in dignified procession. The judges of the Supreme Court attended, robed in their garb of office. The ambassadors of European monarchs, decorated with their orders, and brilliant with gold lace and jewels, were there to witness a ceremony surpassing in solemnity and dignity the vain pomp of their own countries.

The long and spacious galleries were crowded with an audience such as is seldom the lot of man to witness. There were gathered from all corners of "a great, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and beauty," the fair daughters of the North and the dark daughters of the South.

After the delay of administering the oath of office to the new vice-president, the procession slowly wound from the Senate-chamber to the eastern por-

tico. The swarthy form and dark features of the president elect were presently visible, and beside him, in strong contrast with his own person, the rotund figure and snowy-white hair of his retiring predecessor. Then followed the long train of illustrious persons, the venerable and feeble chief justice,* the in-coming and out-going vice-presidents, the large-bodied speaker,† the short form of the lamented Douglas, and a multitude of others of national fame. Those who enjoyed the rare felicity of being present at that memorable scene will never forget the impressive moment when the incoming executive advanced to address his auditors. In an instant the buzz which the appearance of the procession had called forth was hushed ; all eyes were fixed and all ears intent upon the illustrious speaker. The president, after calmly surveying the exciting scene around him, produced his manuscript, and in a clear, firm voice, and in a simple, yet powerfully eloquent cadence, proceeded to announce the views which were to actuate the policy of the new government. Throughout he was listened to with breathless attention, interrupted only by the spontaneous applause which the more forcible points of the oration called forth. Those who heard him will never forget the impressive earnestness and pathos with which he uttered the closing passage of his peroration : —

* Taney.

† Pennington.

"The mystic call of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chords of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

When he had finished, the venerable chief justice arose, and holding forth the Bible, on which the president placed his right hand, pronounced, the president repeating after him, the oath appropriate to the occasion. Then the procession re-formed, and the new executive hastened to the White House, where the doors were thrown open to the citizens, who hastened to pay their congratulations on the successful event of the day.

We will not detain the reader with a recital of the startling events which passed in rapid sequence after the accession of the late administration. The proclamation of the president, calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and apportioning to each state its appropriate quota, was the remote cause of the five days' reign of terror of which it is proposed to speak. The response to this proclamation throughout the North was spontaneous; all men now, for the first time in the history of the country, summoned to defend a direct attempt at the destruction of the Union, began to bestir themselves with zeal and activity. Pennsylvania, being near at hand, threw the

first troops into the Federal city ; and Massachusetts, possessing neither the advantage of proximity nor of easy transportation, to her glory be it said, was the second state whose flag was unfurled on the scene of danger. But that noble band were doomed to experience the first encounter of the campaign before they came to their destination. The first martyrs fell at Baltimore.

The insurrectionary character of that city now displayed itself, and the loyal soldiery of Massachusetts were assaulted by a desperate and lawless rabble as they were passing through its streets. Till the last necessity, the officers, with a magnanimity in strange contrast with the acts of their assailants, refused to open fire ; and it was not till some of the noble spirits who had obeyed the first summons of their country had fallen before the rocks and bludgeons of the ruffian mob, that a repulse was ordered. The demon of anarchy now revelled in the streets of Baltimore and throughout the country between Washington and the Susquehanna. The citizens were held in terror by a multitude of ignorant and savage men, who thronged the streets, armed with every destructive weapon which art or nature had put within their reach. The warehouses of merchants were pillaged, private residences were attacked, and the municipal and state authorities were forced, for personal safety, to bend to the tempest which had demolished every

trace of law and order. Nor were the ravages of the mob confined to the city limits. Bands of malcontents ranged over the country, keeping loyalists in awe, burning bridges, tearing up railroads, and spreading dismay everywhere.

At this time Washington was almost defenceless. On one side lay the hostile shore of Virginia, on the other a terror-stricken city, ruled by a mob holding back supplies, communication, and troops, who alone could protect the capital from the rebels. It was supposed that already an organized force was in readiness to march upon Washington from the southwest. Of the troops in the city, a large majority were the district militia; of these fully one half were regarded as sympathizers with the rebellion, which subsequent events proved a well-grounded suspicion. No men-of-war lay in the navy yard to convey intelligence of our situation by water. The streets were crowded with men conjecturing and discussing, and business yielded entirely to this novel and startling dilemma. Those of the citizens who were inclined to secession alone were exultant. Their triumphant air on this occasion was arrogant and malignant. Many who had before held their opinions secretly, now openly avowed their hostility to the Union.

Such of these malcontents as found their position and the safety of their families precarious in the metropolis, removed, with such of their effects as

could be transferred, into Virginia. Many secret bands of traitors, who had been drilling and exercising in the martial art, hastened to join the more powerful military posts in Eastern Virginia. All the while these incidents were occurring, Washington was entirely destitute of mails, troops, or even parole communication with the North. Saturday was spent in vain conjectures, in startling rumors, and in gloomy forebodings. Even those who were known to be in the intimate confidence of the highest officials could hold out no encouragement against the fear of irresistible invasion, and the destruction which would not fail to ensue. The suspense may well be imagined. To be in hourly fear of the appearance of an exasperated foe; to be confined in a city utterly defenceless, shut out, as much as if they were in the midst of Sahara, from all access to friendly succor; to go to bed at night half expecting to be awakened by the booming of cannon and the clash of conflict in the very streets; to know that, if the enemy did come, they would bring with them the torch and the firebrand with which to devastate the city; to be subjected to the repeated threats and exultations of open-mouthed miscreants, who looked forward with savage impatience to the consummation of the impending calamities,—to be thus swayed between every dread and every misgiving for five days, was a trial which might well elicit the efforts of the stoutest hearts to undergo with calmness.

On Sunday the clergy prayed to be delivered from battle and murder, and preached forbearance in trials, fortitude in danger, and resignation under calamity. The day of rest was noticed with peculiar solemnity and quiet, but was not passed without its proportion of harassing rumors and false alarms. On Monday the president declared, in a private interview, that he had not heard from the troops north of Baltimore since the riot; that he found it impossible to convey intelligence of the condition of the city to the friends of the government; and that, in his opinion, if the city was not relieved in three days, it would fall into the hands of the conspirators. Such an opinion from such a quarter could not but confirm in the highest degree the fears already entertained, and shake the confidence of those who had before made light of the danger. The commandant of the navy yard, and other military officers holding positions of the first importance, resigned, and departed in peace to the hostile state adjacent. The secessionist citizens grew more and more impatient for the crisis, and every one looked forward to an almost certain invasion. So continued the miserable suspense two days longer. And now vague reports began to be heard of troops coming to the deliverance of the city; and several times the rumor ran like wildfire that they had actually arrived.

Finally, on Wednesday afternoon, a little before

sundown, when the citizens were about to give over every shadow of hope, and when destruction seemed inevitable, their weary eyes were rejoiced by the cheerful sight of bayonets and the flag of the Union. The seventh regiment of New York, after a distressing and most wearisome march in heat, rain, and mud, through a meagre and difficult country, now marched into the city and up the broad avenue, their band discoursing beautiful music, the United States flag and that of New York waving side by side, bayonets glistening in the reflection of the declining sunlight, and the uniform and stately tramp of the companies eliciting a responsive echo in the hearts of the grateful multitude which greeted them.

Never was hopeless despair succeeded by more fervent joy. The young and the old of both sexes flooded the streets, greeting the preservers of the capital with every token of admiration and gratitude. Thus was the capital saved, and great calamities averted.

IV.

THE LAST OF THE STUARTS.

HAD it not been that the protectorate of Cromwell was succeeded by two reigns peculiarly aggravating to the people, England might still have been sleeping in the lethargy which is the natural effect of despotism. Had Charles the Second been a trifle more regardful of the interests he governed, and James the Second a little less determined in attempting to force a despised religion upon his people, an imbecile and capricious Stuart might this day have controlled the destinies of the British empire. British liberty did not derive its vigor directly from the violent Puritanism which marked the ascendancy of the commonwealth. It was rather the reaction which followed, the natural result of Puritanism, which at last woke the masses to an effort for liberty.

Cromwell's policy became a by-word; the rigid Puritan became the laughing-stock even of the prelacy and clergy; the strict prohibition of all public amusement had produced a reactive tendency

towards the grossest disregard of public and private morals. The straight coat of the Puritan was changed for the gaudy frock of the Cavalier ; churches were converted into theatres and brothels, in the highest degree obnoxious to every sense of decorum. Instead of the stern homilies which had absorbed the entire industry of the press during the commonwealth, the book-shops now teemed with dramas, libels, and novels, more offensive and scurrilous than have ever emanated from any other source, or any other age. Such, in fact, was the intensity of the reaction, that the few who still dared to avow their adherence to the doctrines of the Protector, were in daily terror lest they should become the victims of a mob. Algernon Sydney and Lord William Russell became martyrs to their cause.

Even during the reign of Charles, the antagonism to the Cromwellian dogmas had not reached its climax. It remained for James, an avowed champion of the Romish creed, to complete the degradation of England, by bidding a fatal defiance to the religious scruples of the people. And even when the monarch could not but perceive the premonitions of the approaching storm, and murmurings from every quarter struck his ministers with terror, he did not hesitate to make his past provocation still more enormous, and to force on with still more dogged arrogance his purpose of Catholic ascendancy. If

James had been content to feel the pulse of his people through his Parliaments, corrupt as those Parliaments undoubtedly were, he might have saved them the trouble of banishing him to St. Germain's.

The most obstinate of Puritan Parliaments had been succeeded by the most servile of Tory Parliaments. Charles was welcomed to the throne of his ancestors by the election of a Parliament ready to go to every length in supporting the prerogative. Of course corruption and moral decrepitude followed; the people began to open their eyes. The Parliaments of Charles grew less and less disposed to yield to incessant demands upon their forbearance, until finally they began to look with jealous eye upon the probable accession of his Catholic brother. But so solemn a decree was issued by James upon his accession, reiterating again and again his purpose to abide by existing law, to protect the rights of the commons, to hide the religious zealot in the patriot monarch, to cherish, protect, and defend every hallowed precedent which had received the sanction of the governed, that another Tory Parliament, hardly less obsequious than that which had greeted his brother, now welcomed him to the possession.

The lessons of the preceding reign were lost upon him, and the same alienation of Parliament from king which had followed in Charles's case, now began to undermine the throne of James. The reaction

reached its climax. It was an instance in which the enemies of freedom have hastened its achievement sooner than its most ardent friends dared to hope for. It was an instance in which a despot, by his own blindness, rushed headlong over the very precipice which it had been his study to avoid. It was an instance in which a whole people became gradually convinced, by the self-condemning logic of a tyrant, that their first victory must be in his ruin.

It may well be doubted, whether if James's reign had not been, there would have been a revolution. Certain it is that that reign hastened a revolution. The people might have been afraid to again intrust themselves in the hands of those who had sustained Cromwell in his usurpation. They might have revolted at the idea that they were again to submit to the stern decrees which forbade innocent amusements ; which ordained a peculiar habit ; which, while pretending toleration, compelled conformity to a creed which was deadly hostile to the Establishment. It might have been, and without doubt would have been, a long and tremendous struggle which could have forced the people to abandon the ease, the indulgence, the general apathy, which, before and after Cromwell, characterized their mode of life. Such a change, under ordinary circumstances, could not have been sudden. It was not until they had been goaded on by systematic outrage, until they had dis-

covered that every secular or sacred right which they now possessed must soon be wrested from them, by that very power which should have strained every nerve to sustain and protect them, that the sudden, radical, and almost reckless change took place.

And yet this result was not achieved by the energy of a single man. To pretend that William of Orange was the sole regenerator of the British constitution would be as preposterous as to attribute an equally great achievement to George of Hanover. The former was, like the latter, an instrument through whom the constitution was purified and ennobled; through whom vital remedies eradicated grave evils; through whom liberal ideas supplanted, not without a struggle, a superstition which divines and statesmen of former times had agreed in pronouncing sacred. True, the Dutch prince combined all the qualities which on this occasion facilitated the success of the anti-Stuart party. He possessed energy, boldness, personal dignity, a sense of the importance of his mission, and the moral effect of a triumph of his cause. But James was the unconscious and unwilling accuser of his own dynasty, and it was through this paradoxical medium that Great Britain grew into freedom.

William of Orange sprang up, as Peter in Russia, Charles in Sweden, Frederick in Prussia, Napoleon in France, and Washington in America sprang up,

to fill positions for which they were remarkably adapted, and in which they achieved extraordinary triumphs. When the anti-Stuart party, by dint of perseverance, gradually loomed up under the very shadow of St. James's, and when their cause had so far developed as to encourage the hope of ultimate success, the hand of Providence pointed them to Holland for their Samson, and he came forth at the bidding of the righteous cause of liberty.

William had, from his earliest manhood, been accustomed to regard it as his peculiar mission to establish the independence of the Protestant states, and to restrain the overbearing influence of Louis the Magnificent. It was his good fortune to be the medium by which this grand purpose was achieved for England and Holland. To him belongs the honor of fulfilling his mission nobly; it is to his glory that he succeeded in that in which success seemed distant. But to put him in the brilliant light of the "founder of British liberty", does monstrous injustice to British public sentiment of that time, and places the hero himself in a doubtful position before future generations.

The people vibrated to one extreme in the protectorate of Cromwell; they vibrated to the other extreme in the reigns of Charles and James; they returned in their vibration just so far, in the time of William, as to reach the blessings, without restoring

the evils, of the commonwealth. It was, then, public sentiment, unaided by any one very brilliant mind, unpromoted either by fanatical zeal or by secret intrigue, frowned upon by the old and illustrious houses of the nobility, and by a majority of the prelates of the Establishment, sustained by several determined souls, whose patriotism was undoubted, but impelled by the resistless arguments of proofs which brought them daily oppression, supported by a conviction that the struggle was not like that of Cromwell, which sect should have the power to oppress the other, but in behalf of universal toleration and equal justice: it was this sentiment that was the great interior cause of the regeneration of the English constitution.

The battle which finally established the ascendancy of the Protestant party under William and Ormond, is seldom noticed as one of the events which has fixed the fate of nations. Unmarked by that striking splendor which has distinguished other decisive battles, achieved by no consummate generalship on either side, apparently nearly balanced in the strength of its opposing elements, enacted with alacrity, and without the preparatory and subsequent bustle which generally attends like conflicts, it spoke in tones of prophecy for the future happiness of a great nation. It marked the beginning of an era which has never been equalled for the astonishing progress of the

human race. It was the mustard-seed, which produced a prolific and exuberant growth. It achieved for the Anglo-Saxon perpetual freedom of conscience and political action : this is at once its simplest and its sublimest eulogy.

The sun of the 1st of July, 1690, shone with a clear light upon Ireland. Its early rays of morning fell upon a glistening armament of two vigorous and hopeful bands ; their last lingering glance beheld the retreating army of a despotic and dying cause. During that eventful day, the brave, the good, the loyal, had fallen ; but in that struggle had been achieved the greatest boons of nature and enlightenment, for millions and for centuries. William of Orange the Protestant and James Stuart the Papist were fit personifications of the struggle of liberalism against prejudice, popular liberty against kingly power, intellectual progress against sensual indulgence. Ireland was a fit spot where to decide the contest which was to break the power of popery, or consign to the despotism of the hierarchy the destinies of Britain. For there the tyranny of James was visible in the desolate hamlet and deserted city ; and there, too, wherever the protection of the new government extended, new life was seen springing up throughout the community.

The peals of the victorious guns of Londonderry had hardly ceased, and Enniskillen had but just

achieved, with a meagre band of sterling souls, a signal triumph over the rude and merciless Celts, when, to complete the rout of the deposed monarch, the blended colors of England and Orange floated from Dublin Castle. By the battle of the Boyne, of which the capture of the metropolis was the immediate result, was insured the final annihilation of the dynasty of the Stuarts. They had ruled for nearly a century. They had found a strong and vigorous prerogative, a substantial prosperity, a rich and high-toned literature, a nation respected at home and abroad. They left a weak and corrupt court, a sluggish and crumbling navy, a low and scurrilous literature, a second-rate power in Europe. Whatever of good Elizabeth had preserved and acquired, they were quick to eradicate; whatever of evil she had continued or called into existence, they were equally zealous to perpetuate. Whether in secret league with foreign courts, or draining the national exchequer, or desecrating the high office of the bench, or ministering to the peevish cravings of imbecile courtiers, or insulting the clergy, — the effect of every act of the two last Stuart kings was to diminish British credit, to dishonor British fame, and to demoralize British habits. To narrow the control of a few the legislature of the state, to subject to royal dictation the decisions of the judge, to incessantly widen the dominion of monarch over Parliament, were the great ends these proposed to themselves.

But the people had been growing ; the march of civilization had kept an equal course ; liberal aspiration, trodden under foot, grew even there, and flourished. The progeny of Charles arose against the progeny of Charles. The grandson, the hope of the vast majority, went, supported by the right arm of the English people, to expel the son from the throne and the soil of his fathers. Supported though the tyrant was by his papist brother of France, defended though he was by the superstitious ferocity of the Irishry, he fell before the might of his own people ; he fell by the hand of his own nephew and the husband of his own daughter ; he fell by the demerit of his own foolhardy reign, a reign which had brought calamity and woe to those very households which had sent forth the flower of the English youth to die for his royal father at Worcester and Marston Moor.

And William, a second but a peaceful conqueror, the deliverer of a people whose language he could not speak, whose habits he could not learn, whose political and religious system were an enigma to him, a cold, phlegmatic Dutchman, sat upon the throne of his English ancestors, assured of the love of his people, proud in the consciousness of having achieved the noble title of benefactor to his religion and his race ; and to the end of his life governed with vigor and prudence, yielding the while to every subject the right to worship according to the promptings of his own conscience.

V.

LORD CHANCELLOR CAMPBELL.

IT is worthy of note that the English statesmen of the present century have mostly originated in two opposite ranks of society. They have either been the scions of noble and powerful families, or they have arisen, in spite of circumstance, from humble parents, by the sole recommendation of personal worth. Of the great middle class, the class which is certainly the most respectable of the English community, and which is at present the controlling power in the state, but few have recently attained great eminence. That the titled and wealthy should advance to power and high rank in a government peculiarly influenced by such recommendations, is not strange. Any son of a great English house, who has ambition, and a reasonable share of brains, may attain, with comparative ease, eminence in the state. An apt example is Lord Russell, who, with but little genius, with no oratorical force, and hardly more than medium capacity, has become the leader of the predominant party, by dint of shrewdness, a persevering

spirit, and ambition, backed by the powerful influence of the noble house of Bedford. And that the master-spirits born in poverty should shake off the incubus of humble birth, and advance to a level with the noblest, is not so unnatural or improbable but that the history of every nation affords us abundant examples of such men; while the middle class, who are neither stimulated by the calls of penury, nor pushed forward by hereditary interest, naturally retain a contented mediocrity of renown and honor.

If any of our readers visited the House of Lords a few years ago, they doubtless had their attention directed to the venerable statesman who occupied, with eminent dignity and grace, the office of chairman to that body, and whose decease was noticed with such profound regret in British journals. On inquiry, they doubtless learned that this was Lord Chancellor Campbell. He had risen from the lowest drudgery to the highest eminence of the legal profession. By the prolific arts of perseverance and industry, he had scaled each successive round in the ladder of promotion, until now, in his declining years, with accumulated honor and respect, he had thus reached the summit, taking precedence after the Archbishop of Canterbury, holding the great seal, and presiding over the peers of the realm.

He was one of those rare examples of unconquerable pluck, who have mastered the prejudice of

wealth and power, and to whom has been yielded a position envied by the most worthy descendants of the most illustrious nobles. In America, where public distinction is within the reach of all, it is difficult to conceive of the restraints which beset the humble aspirant in the old country. But notwithstanding such obstacles, the examples of such men as Eldon, Stowell, Truro, St. Leonards, Ashburton, Canning, and Campbell, exhibit the gratifying fact, that hereditary power cannot hide the dignity of great genius; that greatness will thrust aside the lesser privilege of worldly circumstance, whether it be born in a palace or a cottage; and that you can no more control the operation of a superior mind by the vanities of title and lucre, than you can subordinate truth to error, or eternity to time. The glittering train of peers and nabobs who followed in the path of the great Elizabeth lie forgotten under the stately arches of the old cathedrals; while the poverty-stricken player, William Shakspeare, has adorned every library with his name, and reigns in every appreciative heart, as a perfect master of nature and lofty thought. The names of the brilliant court which welcomed George the Third to the throne of the Plantagenets no longer linger on the lips of men; while every household boasts its 'Rasselas,' and the civilized world holds sacred the memory of the illustrious 'Rambler.'

JOHN CAMPBELL was born in 1781, and was the

son of an obscure Scotch clergyman. His father destined him for the clergy ; in consequence of which he was sent to the University of St. Andrews, where he met the great Dr. Chalmers, then a student like himself. But young Campbell became averse to the profession which had been chosen for him, and soon turned his attention to the law. Soon after graduation, he betook himself to London, where he studied with great zeal, meanwhile supplying his wants by acting as the theatrical critic of the "Morning Chronicle." There, seated in an obscure corner of the pit or upper gallery, we may imagine the chancellor in embryo jotting down the petty excellences and failings of the players, to pamper the taste of the frivolous on the morrow ; while below him, in the decorated boxes and circles, lolled the vain crowd of coroneted simpletons and courtly beauties, now long forgotten, while he is honored as the benefactor of his country's laws.

He was called to the bar by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and then commenced a long life, replete with arduous study, with untiring interest in duty, and stubborn perseverance. He early espoused the liberal doctrines of Fox and Grey ; and inasmuch as for many years after the Tories monopolized the power, his politics were an effectual bar to his professional preferment. He remained, however, through his whole life, an earnest and consistent advocate of

his early convictions. Owing to the prejudice which Lord Chancellor Eldon entertained against the Whigs, he did not obtain the silk gown of king's counsel till the venerable Jacobite gave place, in 1827, to the more courteous and liberal Lyndhurst.

He entered the House of Commons in the year 1830, and was soon recognized as one of the leading members of the British bar. The period of his debut in public life is one of peculiar significance in the party history of England. The long dominion of the statesmen of the Pitt and Liverpool school was at last overthrown. The political dogmas which had resisted Catholic toleration, which had sustained the continental powers in their persecution of the French emperor, which had resisted the right of a neighboring people to choose their own rulers, which had held in imprisonment the first genius of the century, which had opposed the abolition of the test act, which had sustained the most licentious and most obstinate sovereign of modern times, now yielded to the more enlightened views of such statesmen as Russell and Lansdowne, Brougham and Grey.

Several causes operated to bring about this auspicious change. George the Fourth, whose partiality for the Tories was only surpassed by his animosity against the Whigs, had given place to a liberal prince, renowned for his zealous attachment to the popular weal. Again, Canning's influence in moderating the

maxims of Tory theorists was greatly felt among the gentry. Finally, the rapid growth of intelligence, developments in the history of nations, and juster conceptions of the relations of sovereign and people, prepared the public mind for extensive reforms in the constitution. Earl Grey, a statesman eminent no less for his eloquence and sagacity than for the worth of his private character, succeeded to the premiership in 1830, being the first Whig who held that office since the cabinet of 'all the talents,' in 1806.

It was at such a juncture that Campbell entered the House of Commons. The sanguine dreams of his youth were dawning into reality; and he was gratified to see his cherished principles fully adopted by the country, and to know that he was a participant in the glories of the great reform.

In 1832, when he had been a member of the House but two years, and a king's counsel but five years, and in the same year that the reform of Russell and Grey received the royal sign-manual, he was elevated to the dignity of solicitor general. No one of the long line of his illustrious predecessors brought to the discharge of this eminent trust greater learning and acuteness than Lord Campbell evinced, who, at the same time of this appointment, was honored with the order of knighthood. In 1834, after serving as solicitor with the marked approbation of the government, he was promoted to the attorney generalship.

He now reëntered Parliament as the representative of the capital of his native Scotland, and became a leader in debate and the transaction of the public business. He continued attorney general through the conservative ministry of Sir Robert Peel, and the subsequent Whig government of Lord Melbourne. In 1841 he held for a brief period the chancellorship of Ireland, being at the same time elevated to the rank of a peer of England, with the title of John, first Lord Campbell. He retired from office when Sir Robert Peel returned to power in the autumn of 1841, and turned his thoughts to the graceful pursuit of literature. The first production of his pen was the "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," from the earliest times to the close of Lord Eldon's chancellorship, in 1827. For the spirited interest of its style, the clear and precise detail of fact, and the simple yet elegant course of its manner, it is surpassed by no work of the present century. It is regarded by eminent critics as a masterpiece of biography, and may justly rank with the first books of that character in the English tongue. It has probably been as serviceable to perpetuate the name of the author, if not more so, than the numerous profound and equitable decisions which he has left on the records of the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery.

It was soon followed by the "Lives of the Chief Justices of England," which only enhanced the repu-

tation of the former work ; and we would heartily recommend both of these books to the perusal of all who are interested, either professionally or as a matter of taste, in this branch of literature, as a deeply interesting as well as instructive entertainment.

In 1846 Lord John Russell assumed office, and Lord Campbell was recalled from the occupation which had proved so congenial to his mind, to take a seat in the ministry as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. While he held this position, he was a frequent debater in the House of Peers, where he zealously defended the policy of the government. In 1850 Lord Chief Justice Denman retired from the King's Bench, ripe in years and in honorable renown, and Lord Campbell was at once designated as his successor. In this exalted place he was removed from the harassing uncertainties of political life ; and he continued for nine years to administer justice with promptitude, skill, and equity.

It was while chief justice that he became eminent for the great light he brought to bear upon many intricate questions of law ; and his fame may be said to rest mainly upon the profound ability with which he exercised the functions of this trust. In 1859, when Lord Palmerston succeeded to the brief administration of Lord Derby, Lord Campbell was finally raised to the summit of his profession. He was the fourth Scotchman who has been lord chancellor within the

century, and was a worthy compeer of such men as Loughborough, Erskine, and Brougham. The long years of unremitting toil were at length crowned with glorious success; and he died in the midst of duty, affluence, honor, and power, while enjoying the prerogatives of the highest judicial trust, in 1861.

Whether we consider him as a lawyer, statesman, or author, his fame is a substantial one. Profound without pedantry, subtle without craft, zealous without bigotry, and humane without effeminacy, he lived a philanthropic, pure, and consistent life. His highest eulogium is, that he lived and died in the service of his country; that through every vicissitude his chief care was the national weal; and that few Englishmen of the present century have left more enduring monuments of public wisdom and private example.

VI.

COUNT CAVOUR.

WHEN a nation assumes, for the first time in its history, the rank of a superior power, civilized man regards the event with sympathy. With how much greater gratification do we behold the regeneration of a people, which in former ages discovered a conspicuous superiority, but which, by the process of despotism and consequent apathy, has been for centuries an object of universal pity, and whose later degradation has seemed the more hopeless when contrasted with its former grandeur ! While the revolutions of modern Europe have transferred the ascendancy from nation to nation, and have alternately elevated and depressed almost every country between the Atlantic and the Caucasus, Italy alone, the ancient seat of world-wide empire, has remained listless and stagnant under the oppression of the hierarchy, the Bourbons, and the Hapsburgs.

The Reformation, prolific in the grand results of a purer religion and a more vigorous enlightenment, swept by the land of the Cæsars, and left the un-

happy descendants of the greatest of races stranded in the cruel and superstitious ignorance of the dark ages. While England, France, Spain, and the German states — dependent provinces which received viceroys from and paid a humble tribute to the early emperors — have successively assumed the highest elevation of power among the nations, their once queenly mistress has been overridden by a crafty priesthood, and has been retained in slavish submission by a foreign and mercenary armament. Divided into numerous states and municipalities, each independent of, and most of them hostile to, the others; distracted by the bitter strifes of factions rivalling one another in the same overwhelming passion; held all the while in debasing thralldom by the fulminations of ambitious and licentious pontiffs; degenerated, by a fatal luxury, from the iron spirit which had dictated laws alike in the rude valley of the Tweed and among the splendid temples of Persia; a people motiveless and hopeless, and, by the absorption of the church, bereft of the little genius which might otherwise have illuminated its history, — how sad is the contemplation of the desolate centuries which have passed over the fairest regions and most memorable spots of the earth!

It has been the felicity of the present generation to witness the awakening of Italy to the dawn of a glorious destiny. The spirit which has either slumbered

or vented itself in helpless and insane ravings has shaken off its lethargy, and tyranny may well tremble when it beholds the regeneration of a people before deemed most secure in its grasp. A rapid concentration of states and of policy; the creation, by the house of Savoy, of a constitutional government; the revolutionary successes of Garibaldi; the wisdom and moderation of the sovereign designated from the first, by nature and position, to preside over the birth of the new nation; and, as we conceive, beyond all, the gigantic efforts of Count Cavour, — have resulted in placing once more the land of Cæsar and of Machiavel among the great powers of the earth. For a century and a half, five nations have arrogated to themselves the splendid joint title of the "Great Powers." Of these, four comprise communities once held in vassalage by the magistrates of Rome. The former mistress now takes her place among her former vassals as their equal, and hereafter *six* Great Powers will unite with and oppose one another to preserve the balance of European dominion.

The cause of the regeneration of Italy is easily discovered. Attempts have been made in the past to break loose from the bondage of the papacy and the empire; but they were without method, — looking not to the end, but impelled by sudden frenzy, — rather a wild thirst for any change than a wise en-

deavor for a better state, —unorganized, and undisciplined by principle or system, led by ignorant and reckless men, who would have been kings of bandits, but whose statesmanship would have been a worse tyranny than that of the worst pontiffs, — and without unity of design, of interest, or even of cause. Such passionate and aimless rebellions could not be expected to succeed against military armaments, possessed of the advantages of discipline and experience, and stationed at every point of the insurgent territory. Even modern times have witnessed the wild fanaticism of Mazzini, who, in attempting to reenact in Italy the inglorious fratricides exemplified by France, retarded for a time the formation of a constitutional monarchy, the nucleus of an independent empire.

The essential want of Italy was a calm, great master-mind. Her sons, even the greatest of them, have been too mercurial and fickle, too much under the dominion of their passions, too much devoted to luxury, or to their particular pursuits, to engage in successful revolution. They wanted the iron will, the dauntless spirit, the discerning forethought, the steady intellect, of more northern climes; first to overturn existing despotism, then to erect a substantial and healthy fabric. Passion might have full play in the destruction of papal and imperial authority; but it must yield to nobler elements when eradi-

cation is to be followed by creation. To destroy, requires only the brave heart and the strong arm; to erect, demands souls lit up, not only with patriotism, but with an intelligence undimmed by grosser elements.

• The intellectual activity of the last century, crude and irregular as it was on the Continent, was the germ which culminated in the French revolution, and which has set all the communities of Europe in pursuit of liberty. Before this period, the monarch, everywhere, was the state; and the acquisitions of power, territory, wealth, and internal prosperity were not blessings flowing to the people, but jewels added to the crown. Free thought, great studies in science, philosophy, and theology, if they generated atheism and visionary equality, also opened the gates of power to its true source, the people. Italy felt this universal influence, and the brain of that people, if less vivid, became sensitive to the wrongs of tyranny; as in France, the same cause brought anarchy.

The gorgeous imagination of Dante, centuries earlier, had depicted the past miseries, and no less the coming glories, of his unhappy country; and, with a foresight illumined by a rich fancy, he had seen the peril which, to attain national integrity, she would be forced to undergo. In the work of imagination, the inciting of a people to resistance, the appealing to their best passions, by song and elo-

quence, Italy has produced great masters ; but it has been reserved for the present age to elicit an efficacious intellectual aid, which should combine and systematize the hitherto inchoate elements of an Italian kingdom. The great mental activity of the past century has prepared the people to receive and to appreciate a new destiny ; it has awakened a sense of shame for past apathy ; it has kindled noble aspirations for an independent system ; it has exposed to their contempt the specious fallacies by which Popery has intralled the intellect and the heart ; it has displayed for their emulation the examples of free nations. Thus prepared, Italy waited for a guiding mind ; and that mind appeared in Camillo di Cavour.

He is rightly called by Italians the Regenerator of Italy. To his intellect and his enthusiasm is to be traced the creation of a fabric, wonderful in its youthful maturity, stately in the proportion and symmetry of its design. What enhances the grandeur of his achievements is, that they were accomplished in spite of patriots. He saw that the separation of communities tended toward the worst results of anarchy, no less than that their consolidation must be affected by checking the natural impulses of the public mind. Few of his compatriots had the capacity to appreciate any other form of government than the one most opposite to that which had paralyzed Italy. The southern imagination, more sanguine and irresistible

than that of the French, looked even upon equality and fraternity as too moderate a stand-point. Almost alone, but nevertheless with all confidence, Cavour set about the most ennobling labor which can employ the human mind. Inspired no less by the examples which history displayed to him, than by the results of a practical contemplation of general politics, he was entirely satisfied as to the end which he should propose to himself, and the means he should employ to attain it. Sentiment in him was absorbed in one feeling — unalloyed patriotism. He did not reflect upon the glories of ancient Rome, upon the greatness of Florence, and Venice, and Naples, and Genoa, with the exuberant fancy of a poet, sorrowing for what was past and irrevocable; but with the eyes of a statesman, penetrating the causes of their rise and fall, and inspired by their fate to reinstate their power permanently and completely. To attain an end so noble, he deemed no sacrifice too great; and, in spite of the bigotry of his family, the danger to his title, his fortune, his life, and his fame, from his earliest manhood he gave himself up to the salvation of Italy.

CAMILLO BENSO DI CAVOUR was born in the capital of that kingdom around which he afterwards concentrated the states of Italy, on the 10th of August, 1810. He was descended from an ancient and noble family, who at different times had been renowned for

gallantry in the field, and for eminence in literature. His family name was Benso; its title of nobility, Cavour; and his own Christian name, Camillo, was given him in honor of Camillo, Prince Borghese, provincial governor of Piedmont, the husband of the brilliant and beautiful Pauline Bonaparte. This princess, the favorite sister of the French emperor, together with her consort, presided over the baptism of the young noble as sponsor. He was the second son of the Marquis Giuseppe Michele Benso di Cavour, by a Swiss lady, Adelaide Susanna Sellon; and, as is the custom of Italy, he took the title of count, as the younger born. It was from his mother that he inherited the more prominent characteristics which afterwards made his life illustrious; while the Piedmontese blood gave him the vivacity and warmth of soul peculiar to that people.

His family had long been a proud and exclusive race, holding in contempt the lower classes, and devoted to aristocratic domination and popular oppression. Wealthy, of ancient title, and therefore of considerable influence among the nobles, his father, though by no means an ill-natured man, became an earnest advocate of ultra-oligarchical principles. This was an immense disadvantage to a youth whose earliest maturity of reason taught him to take an entirely opposite ground, and to espouse the cause of the oppressed classes. The prejudice which his father's

bigotry had excited against the house descended in some measure to Camillo; and between the distrust of the government, who knew his liberal predilections, and the distrust of the people, who looked with suspicion upon a young aristocrat, he was at the entrance of life placed in a dilemma hard to be escaped from. But few opportunities for advancement were afforded to younger sons of nobles at that time, and the army was the prevailing choice among them; and young Cavour, though by no means possessing a taste for the military profession, seemed compelled to enter it, and was accordingly placed at an early age at the Military Academy of Turin. After pursuing for a while, with considerable success, the dry details of mathematics and practical science, he had the good fortune to be appointed page to the Prince Charles Albert, heir to the crown of Sardinia; less, as is supposed, from his rank, than because of his liberal principles. Such a position in the royal household is regarded in most monarchical countries as an almost certain avenue to high political trust; and therefore it was no mean tribute to the young count's spirit and ability, that he was thus promoted, at the early age of ten years, over the heads of many young nobles who were eager to attain the same position.

His impatience of subordination made a dependence on princely favor distasteful even at his age, and he was glad to return to his surveying and logarithms

in the Academy. Here he remained, acquiring, rapidly and easily, the scientific elements of the profession, until his eighteenth year, when he graduated with high rank, and was appointed a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. This position enabled him to reduce to practice the lore he had so studiously acquired, and he was commissioned to make explorations and plans for forts and other defences in the mountain ranges contiguous to the confines of Piedmont, and also near Genoa. Although such employment gave indulgence to his taste for exact science, his spirit was too restless to submit to the petty tyranny of military discipline; and after enduring the humiliations of an inferior grade for a short time, he retired from the service, and turned his attention to his favorite study — that of political philosophy.

While in the prosecution of his professional duties, he had been arrested and confined in the fort of Bard, for the expression of liberal opinions. It must not be inferred from this that he had given utterance to fanatical theories, or that he held any sympathy with those visionary politicians who courted martyrdom for democracy. His politics, though liberal, were from the first practical and sensible, not conquered by imagination, nor repugnant to moderate reason. Nothing can more fully demonstrate the wretched despotism under which Piedmont was groaning at that time, — thanks to the restoration of the

Bourbons, — than that such a man, temperate in opinion and in utterance, should have been imprisoned for differing from the autocrats who presided at the cabinet council. Any European government would suppress a wild and dangerous fanatic; few would say to the world that they feared a conservative reformer. For Mazzini, it would have, perhaps, been a just fate; in Cavour the injustice of the sentence stimulated an ambition, the fruit of which was the achievement of Italian freedom.

The period at which he abandoned the restraints of an exclusive profession, and turned to the consideration of political science, was a remarkable one throughout Europe. In France the last sovereign of the elder Bourbons had just been expelled from the throne and the soil of his fathers; a bloodless revolution had been succeeded by a peaceable settlement; and constitutional had superseded almost absolute monarchy. Philosophical and political discussion had become universal, and the public mind was thoroughly aroused to the contemplation of much-vexed questions. In England the great period had arrived which should witness a peaceful but thorough renovation of the constitution; liberal ideas took the place of prescription and precedent; and fairness of representation, denied for centuries by the bigotry or interest of the dominant faction, was now accorded by the happy alliance in its favor of

sovereign and people. The principles of religious toleration, too, found an increasing support throughout the three kingdoms; and free trade became the watchword of a powerful and brilliant coterie, whose names appear as the founders of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Hungary and Poland manifested new symptoms of rising against their imperial oppressors, and the czar seemed disposed to introduce a more generous policy into the government of Russia. Greece, released from the rude dominance of the Turk, had erected a liberal monarchy, and had chosen a German prince to assume her crown, once the fairest treasure within the ambition of man. Belgium also, now a thriving and active little kingdom, was then just changing ducal for regal dignity; and was governed with wisdom by one of the ablest of modern princes. All Europe seemed to be awakening to a more vigorous life. Ancient absolutists were losing their prescriptive authority, and yielding before novel and vital forces. In Italy alone the zeal for liberty appeared to be dormant, or at least hopelessly indulged. While northern communities were awake to every opportunity which might brighten their prospects, the land of Dante and Machiavel seemed to have forgotten the inspired exhortations of those heroic sages, and to remain motiveless and passive under absolute power.

Cavour met this sad fact at the threshold of his ob-

servations ; but it did not produce in his vivacious and cheerful mind the least despair ; on the contrary, it inspired him to a desperate attempt to master his subject, and then to use the experience thus acquired for the benefit of his country. It might have been expected that the intensity of his patriotic feeling would drive him into all the theories of equality and democracy which characterized most anti-imperialists of that day ; but his mind, steady and practical amidst surrounding tumults, recoiled from ideas which had thus far availed so little, and harmed so much. The blood of Piedmont which ran through his veins, and which stimulated passion, was tempered by the blood of Switzerland, which balanced judgment against impetuosity, and deliberation against fire of spirit.

Already he saw himself the future minister of the kingdom of Italy, uniting under his administration all the states of the peninsula, and sitting at congresses on a proud equality with the Hapsburg tyrant. Undoubtedly ambitious to become eminent in political life, and especially eager to be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen as one of the founders of a new destiny, he yet disdained to employ the arts of the demagogue, and loathed secret conclaves for the sinister purpose of popular agitation. His course, as was to be expected, was frowned upon by his patrician father and his absolutist kinsmen ; while the people,

prejudiced against him as a scion of aristocracy, looked upon his youthful aspirations with much distrust. Amid such discouragements, opposed alike by those whom nature prompted to sustain him, and by those whom gratitude should have attached to him, and apparently sacrificing the only opportunity which appeared open to him to achieve political success, this illustrious man obstinately adhered to a moderate, enlightened, and just view of facts and principles. He turned his particular attention to the study of political economy, and soon accepted the doctrines of Adam Smith and Lord Grey as those most in harmony with reason, and especially with the policy of Italy. The results of his subsequent statesmanship demonstrate the wisdom of this course; and at the present hour Italy is making rapid strides in regaining that commercial ascendancy which formerly rendered Venice and Florence the marts most courted by all nations — a result which may be aptly traced to the exertions of Count Cavour.

Charles Albert ascended the throne of Sardinia in 1832, and the Marchese di Cavour was appointed *vicario*, or mayor, of Turin — an office of considerable trust, and the reward of loyal devotion to the absolute party. His official duties consisted of the superintendence of the police system, which in those days was used rather as a defence against the liberal opposition than in the more general functions usually

assigned to it. The father was thus identified with the enemies and persecutors of the son, and became the magistrate whose peculiar care it was to check any movement towards a change of government—an object dear to Camillo. This was a formidable obstacle, but not so formidable as to modify his opinions, or to silence the proper expression of them. He could not, however, pursue his studies under such a censorship in his native city; and therefore he spent the year following the accession of Charles in overseeing the family estates, travelling in various provinces of Italy, and, wherever he went, impressing upon his mind, for future use, his observations of the state of society. As early as his twenty-third year his opinions and character made him an object of suspicion to the Austrian cabinet; and records have since been brought to light in the form of official instructions, describing his person and character, and warning the agents of the imperial court to watch so dangerous an enemy to absolute power. In 1835 he was called to the sick bed of his maternal aunt, the Duchess of Clermont-Tonnerre, at Geneva; and having approached so near the frontier of the Alps, he seized an occasion he had long desired to cross the mountains, and contemplate the recently purified systems of France and Great Britain.

He regarded the new *régime* of the former kingdom with much less interest than the constitutional

stability of the latter. He looked with especial favor upon the operation of that nationality, which, apparently, has the unanimous preference of reflecting liberals on the Continent. The distinctive vigor and independence of the Anglo-Saxon race, subordinated to order and respecting law, appeared to him to be stamped upon the character of the government, and the ease with which so ancient a constitution had yielded to the demands of a progressive age filled him with enthusiastic admiration. He did not confine his attention to the organization of the executive and legislature, the spirit of the laws, the systems of finance, war, and marine, and the practical action and retroaction of administration and citizen ; he also penetrated beneath the external facts which make up the history of a nation, and studied earnestly the different grades of society, the effects of unequal rank, and the various prejudices, habits, and tendencies of all classes. He looked with an admiration almost tinged with envy on the wonderful equilibrium which could combine in one constitution elements seemingly so inharmonious as an oligarchy, a sovereign, a state church, and a representative estate. But he did not speak of English institutions with unqualified praise ; for he unhesitatingly denounced that exclusive spirit which has accumulated in the hands of a few proud families the greater part of British territory, and has denied to the farmer a fair competition in labor. He

could not view with approval the aristocracy nor the political church. He regarded England, nevertheless, as the pioneer of European civilization, whose mission it was to introduce reforms in politics and morals, and to exemplify them in her own policy. His visit to that country, therefore, was one of the greatest pleasure, as well as instruction to him.

Throughout his future life he seems to have profited by the experience derived from his English tour, in modifying his political course. Accepting the same abstract principles which underlie the British constitution, he built up a fabric in many respects similar, and in many, we think, superior, to that which he adopted as a model. He made the acquaintance and acquired the friendship of many prominent Englishmen of all parties; and from the discussions which he heard, and in which he was a participant, he conceived a vivid idea of the principles with which he sought to be familiar. Every fact, every cause, every effect, was treasured up in that rare memory, as material for his life-work. His judgment perceived at once those circumstances and data which could be employed in guiding his future policy, and which were applicable to the character of his fellow-countrymen; and his assiduity was the less laborious, inasmuch as he experienced the keenest pleasure in the occupation. His pursuit of knowledge was not devoted entirely to general theories; but he descended care-

fully to the consideration of practical details, visiting the different departments in Downing Street, observing the operation of law, and attending day after day the parliamentary sessions, not less to derive an idea of the legislative practice and customs of England, than to witness the conflicts of parties.

In such congenial studies he employed his time until 1842, when he returned to his native country. His wealth had given him leisure, and his rank opportunities, to select the mode of life to which his tastes directed him; and his native mercurial temperament, combined with a hearty appreciation of social pleasures, strongly tempted him to turn from the path of usefulness, and to embark on that of a transitory happiness. Few men could have resisted the natural tendencies of the passions when encouraged by such a position. But his soul was fixed upon a great purpose; and to that purpose the allurements of folly, and even of ease, promptly yielded. Youth, riches, rank, a warm and generous heart, and manners which irresistibly attracted, became, in the balance which should determine a wise or a miserable life, as nothing, when opposed to the instincts of a pure patriotism, the earnestness of a spirit inspired by honest piety, and an intellect capacious enough to grasp, and interested enough to attempt, the great problems which involve the rise and fall of nations. The flower of younger manhood thus spent was a

certain presage of future eminence; and it is with scarcely less admiration that we view this early devotion to the service of his country, than the more recent and world-renowned achievements of his intellect.

On his return to Italy, he commenced his public career by taking up the pen in the advocacy of the opinions of which he was now firmly persuaded. He wrote an admirable essay on the "State and Prospects of Ireland" — a work for which he had fitted himself while in the British Isles, at which period the O'Connell agitation was at its height; and his appreciation of his theme, and the accuracy with which he dealt with the material before him, elicited the praise of the most profound British minds. "Italian Railroads" also found a vigorous and earnest advocate in Cavour at this time; and another essay, "On the Influence of Commercial Reform in England on the Economical Condition of Italy," extended his reputation as a writer and an economist throughout Europe. A British reviewer of ability has aptly remarked, that these early fruits of Cavour's genius partake rather of the dispassionate and deliberate character of state papers, than of that of pamphlets written upon exciting political topics. Throughout their pages is discernible the operation of a calm and lucid mind, quick to arrive at conclusions warranted by safe premises, just in fixing the importance of facts, and entirely free from sympathies produced by partiality for either

party. Their style is clear, unadorned by rhetorical digressions, strictly accurate in word and expression, and always aiming straight at the main idea.

He became an active participant in the deliberations of the "*Società Agraria*," a body of men who favored the introduction into Piedmont, not only of agricultural improvements, but of all those resources which make a community energetic and prosperous. They formed a nucleus around which might be gathered the liberal sentiment of Italy, and did not confine their projects of reform to the narrow details of their incorporation. It was in communion with the members of this society that Cavour found a thorough sympathy with the principles which he had adopted, and also the eminent and earnest friends who afterwards assisted in his lofty labor of regenerating the system. Their organ, the *Gazzetta dell' Associazione Agraria*, found in him a constant and zealous correspondent, whose contributions were directed to the universal amelioration of the condition of the people. He sustained free trade, as the resuscitator of a dormant commerce; the establishment of educational systems, as the purifiers of popular virtue; the encouragement of science and art, as adornments indispensable to a civilized race; the creation of benevolent societies, as alleviations of the sufferings of the lower classes; industrial schemes, as life-giving elements in a society naturally prone to agriculture; and, above all, the

establishment^{*} of a popular legislature, as the guardian of national liberty.

The influence of his mind, acting thus through the medium of the press, became gradually felt in the more enlightened circles of the metropolis; and the ideas which he put forth, in so convincing and logical a form, began to insinuate themselves into the first intellects of Piedmont. Few had looked beyond local history and events for their political erudition; and none probably possessed a just idea of the practical operation of liberal principles beyond the Alps. They were now fully enlightened by one of their own countrymen, in a form entirely lucid, and appealing at once to their understandings, by the clearness and simplicity with which he made every subject he approached appear to them. Such statesmen as Gioberti, Ricasoli, and Azeglio, were struck with the benefits and practicability of the reforms which he sought to introduce; and all who, while they rejected the revolutionary fantasies of Mazzini, yet yearned for a deliverance from the existing status, turned their attention to the doctrines now for the first time advocated, as remedies sufficient for the existing evils.

In addition to these efforts to set public sentiment in the right direction, Cavour continued to devote his attention earnestly to the study of political philosophy, while at the same time he indulged his tastes

for agricultural pursuits. As liberal principles became more extensively adopted, he found that the *Gazzetta* did not afford a sufficient opportunity to promulgate his views; and, in connection with other eminent Liberals, he instituted, in 1847, a political daily, called the *Risorgimento*. Happily, the press was so free as to permit the accomplishment of the objects of this paper, whose mission was announced to be, "the independence of Italy, union between princes and people, progressive reform, and a confederation of the Italian states." Keeping clear of the dangerous theories which impelled Mazzini to seek revolution, and rejecting the policy of republicanism as entirely unsuited to the genius of Italy, he advocated mutual compromise between the sovereign and the subjects, by which the former should be secured in limited dominion, and the latter admitted to a participation in power. Although he perceived that the papal power was destructive of Italian independence, he did not declare war upon the hierarchy, but sought, while stripping the pope of the ability to oppose the projected confederation, to leave in his hands a nominal sovereignty, and, if feasible, to place him in the van of the great reform movement.

This policy, at once conservative and progressive, met with extreme opposition from two distinct quarters — the ultra absolutists and the ultra democrats.

The partisans of the empire and the Society of Jesus frowned upon a project which destroyed the essence, though it retained the semblance, of princely and ecclesiastical power. The followers of Mazzini rejected a proposal which should continue monarchical institutions and admit the aristocracy to a considerable power. It was, therefore, to the intelligent middle class, — that class which has everywhere maintained order and rational liberty, — and to the liberal noblemen and philosophic statesmen of Italy, that Cavour looked for an efficient support of the views promulgated in the *Risorgimento*. Early in the year 1848, he took a step which indentified him distinctly as a bold and earnest leader of a thorough, though not a radical, reform. A deputation of Genoese citizens had arrived at Turin to petition the king in reference to the expulsion from that city of the Society of Jesus, and also to urge the remodelling of the militia; and the leading politicians of the metropolis, perceiving this to be a fit opportunity to strike a blow, met to consider the expediency of joining in the request of the Genoese. Cavour, bolder than the rest, and not deterred by the unpopularity he already labored under, ignoring all minor issues, moved at once to petition Charles Albert for a free press and for a constitution. This proposition, though sustained by the conservative members of the meeting, failed through the opposition of Mazzini's partisans,

and the public press refused to print it; in consequence of which Cavour informed the king himself of the motion he had made.

Charles Albert, who had been regarded as an absolutist, and whose relations with the empire rendered it improbable that he would listen to reformers, yet was not devoid of that sagacity which profits by experience, and yields when the choice is inevitable between yielding and falling. The example of Charles d'Artois was too recent to be forgotten; he knew his people too well to trust to their calmness and clemency, and, like a wise king, he granted to them a constitution; thus preserving his own crown, and paving the way for uniting, under his successor, the then inchoate elements of an Italian kingdom. It is not a little to be commended that the late king seized exactly the right time to concede a Parliament, and that he did not wait until public ferment would have made it difficult to trust his sincerity. This important movement took place soon after Cavour's motion in the Assembly of Editors, in response to a petition from the city of Turin.

Cavour was intrusted with the duty of framing an electoral bill, and under its operation he was elected by the citizens of his native city to the first Chamber of Representatives. Thus peacefully and without difficulty was the kingdom of Sardinia transformed from an absolute into a constitutional monarchy.

The king retained a just exercise of executive power ; the educated and landed classes were admitted to a direct influence through a freely elected legislature ; the influence of Austria was counteracted, and the example of England adopted ; and instead of a rigid political police, a fettered press, and an exclusive domination of absolutist princes, the best intellects of Piedmont were called to the administration and the forum.

The general convulsion of 1848, which restored France to the Corsican line, and which roused Hungary, Poland, and Milan to a desperate but unsuccessful outbreak, generated in the intelligent statesman of Piedmont a hope, not entirely free from misgiving. Southern Europe, before impervious to the commotions which had convulsed more northern regions, felt at last a shock which, but for the unprepared state of the people, might have resulted in complete disenthralment. The provinces of Milan and Lombardy rose in armed resistance to the Emperor of Austria ; Rome and Florence became agitated by the wild frenzy of visionary democrats. A revolution, terrible in its activity and momentous in its results, appeared inevitable. Cavour and his colleagues seized the occasion to urge a union of states against the triple tyranny. They entreated the Sardinian king, whose caution and hereditary prejudices were well balanced against his ambition, to place himself at

the head of the great movement about to be made. Troops were enlisted, and sent to the banks of the Ticino. At last Charles Albert proclaimed himself for Italian independence, and the forces of Sardinia fought side by side with the Milanese and the Lombards against the standard of the double eagle. Cavour himself would have gone as a volunteer private, but for the armistice at Milan.

But neither was Sardinia sufficiently strengthened, nor the people sufficiently of one purpose, to succeed against the deliberate schemes and organized movements of the Austrian government. The fatal excesses of the Mazzini faction produced distraction of public sentiment, want of cordiality and unity in the pursuit of a common end, and useless but violent hatred against those who, like Cavour, retained in the midst of revolution an earnest regard for law and order. Rome was restored, under the auspices of a French armament, to the dominion of the Catholic pontiff. Venice, abandoned by her provincial government, and in spite of a glorious effort for liberty, became irretrievably subject to the dictation of the Austrian tyrant. The duchies were forced once more to receive their hereditary sovereigns, who had been constrained to flee before the storm which endangered their lives as well as their dynasties. The battle of Novara, by breaking the vitality of Sardinian aid, extinguished the last hope of wretched Italy ;

and Charles Albert, whose noble determination had made him worthy of a better fate, passed beneath the proud standard of the Hapsburgs, an exile from the throne and from Italy.

In the midst of commotions like these, the first independent Parliament of Sardinia met at Turin; and Cesare Balbo, a Liberal of great ability, but whose administration was not prompt in prosecuting the war, was made premier. Cavour became at once, in accordance with the expectations of all, an active and leading member. So democratical, however, were the tendencies of the assembly, that his conservative views made him an object of frequent and bitter attack. He took a position which, though, to persons looking upon historical events with an impartial eye, it seems a most honorable one, made him extremely unpopular when considered in the midst of exciting events, and by a bigoted party spirit. The administration had been formed on a radical basis; but soon, governed by that consciousness of responsibility which always attends the acquisition of power, the enlightened premier advocated the intervention of Sardinia in the war then in progress, and the restoration of the dethroned princes, under pledges guaranteeing free constitutions to their people. These measures Cavour, though originally opposed to the ministry, heartily approved. The hopes, however, of the statesmen who advocated this policy were

so sorely disappointed when the princes refused the concessions which were expected of them, and when the pope became, on his restoration to the triple crown, the steadfast ally of the emperor in oppressing Italy.

Charles Albert could not hope longer to wield the destinies of his little kingdom ; and he abdicated the throne. His heir came to his royal inheritance, as may well be imagined, under peculiar temptations, and surrounded by events calculated sternly to test the quality of a young and fervid ambition. Before him were a distracted people, not yet recovered from the ignominy of hopeless defeats, utterly powerless before a great nation, without strength to oppose any longer the tyranny which had before incited them to resistance. By acquiescence in oppression, Victor Emmanuel might look forward to a long, secure, and peaceful reign ; and, subject to the dominant power, he had a certain prospect of uninterrupted dominion. His youthful prejudices had been formed by absolutist courtiers, and a selfish interest in the comfort of his own house would have led him to bow cheerfully before the haughty crown which sought to make him a submissive vassal. It was natural, therefore, that the statesmen of Piedmont should look with distrust upon the accession of so young and so ambitious a prince. Their fears were gloriously disappointed before the crown of Savoy had touched the brow of the new

sovereign. On the very night when his father, de-throned and exiled, passed from the presence of his dejected generals, Victor Emmanuel brandished his sword towards the imperial camp, and devoted himself, by a solemn vow, which has been nobly kept, to the regeneration of Italy.

From that moment distrust vanished, and hope inspired every patriot heart. In the new king, the courage and enthusiasm of youth were combined with a discernment of the right cause which would have graced the wisdom of age. His choice of a first minister indicated a conservative, and yet a generous policy. Massimo d' Azeglio,* a brilliant votary alike of æsthetics, of politics, and the military art, was intrusted with the government, and was joined by many of the ablest minds of Piedmont. Graceful in the use of the pencil, glowing as the delineator of historical events, and enchanting in the presentation of fictitious scenes and characters, Azeglio could yet turn from these elegant and peaceful avocations to guide with consummate skill a disordered state through peculiar dangers. The perils external were not exceeded by the perils internal; and the new premier found that the greatest enemy to the government was concealed in the dark streets of its own cities. His fear of the revolutionists made him distrustful of all innovation, and he inclined rather to

* Azeglio is now the Italian ambassador at London.

consolidate and preserve what had already been acquired, than to widen the margin of national vigor by progressing in the paths of reform pointed out by more sanguine statesmen. He therefore devoted himself with ardor to settling the existing disorders, and to securing the crown to his young sovereign. Count Cavour had heartily approved the nomination of Azeglio to the chief direction of affairs, and had, with a disinterestedness rarely seen, but which was characteristic of his whole life, sustained the more important measures which that statesman had proposed to the legislature. But his energetic spirit, revolting though it did from the anarchical precepts of Mazzini, could not more patiently acquiesce in the caution which kept in abeyance the resources of the country. More bold and practical than the premier, he earnestly urged the prosecution of reform. He would anticipate the bright prospects with which Mazzini sought to dazzle the people, and separate the good from the evil of the democratic creed. The quickness with which he discerned the propriety, and even necessity, of improvement in various directions, contrasted successfully with the poetic fervor with which the imaginative minister clung to the old paths. The timid and unpractical mind of the latter, while he admitted the reasonableness of Cavour's theories, shrank from the bold course which alone could give them efficacy.

The main obstacle to complete national disenthralment was the exorbitant influence of the papacy in Italian politics. This evil Azeglio sought to eradicate by the cautious mode of expostulation, and by attempting to convince those to whom conviction would have been entire loss of power. Such a mode was ill adapted to persuade cardinals to yield an authority resting on precedent to the exigencies of a modern civilization. Cavour, with accurate judgment, saw the futility of paper attacks, and urged a ruder — as the only practicable — method of removing this mighty incubus. Sicardi, an eminently sensible statesman, was, through his influence, brought into the cabinet, and proposed at once to act upon the sources whence the hierarchy derived its dictatorial authority. The ecclesiastical courts were, at his suggestion, abolished; the clergy were deprived of invidious immunities; the tenure by mortmain of religious corporations was restrained and regulated.

Thus, in spite of the violent opposition which everywhere demonstrated the yet formidable vigor of the church, the state was relieved of the great obstacle to the entire independence of the government. Cavour was now admitted to the executive Council, by being appointed minister of commerce and agriculture — an office for which he was peculiarly fitted, not less by his remarkably practical turn of

mind, than by his taste for, and long attention to, these branches of public enterprise. His long-cherished ideas in favor of free trade were now brought forward and put into practice; and his treaties with the various European powers, while from some quarters they brought denunciation upon him, even to personal collision, nevertheless were approved by his constituents, and became the settled maritime policy of Piedmont.

He was soon after appointed minister of marine in addition to his other offices, and now took the opportunity, long wished for, to transfer the naval arsenal to Spezzia, and to improve the port of Genoa, so that it might become, as its position and natural advantages indicated that it should be, the centre of northern Italian commerce. A change of ministry, which proved only temporary, led to the retirement of Count Cavour from public office; and he devoted this interval of relief from arduous toil to visiting England and France, and renewing, for a brief period, his friendly intercourse with the public men of those countries. While in England, he inspected the most abandoned and riotous quarters of London, under the care of a policeman, looking upon these scenes of degradation with the practical eye of a philosophical economist. On his return he found Azeglio on the point of resigning in consequence of disagreements with the papal emissaries. Cavour

was intrusted with the seals, but failed to reconcile the contending claims of the pope and the king, and so resigned. He was the only man, however, who was equal to the emergency, and he was soon recalled, at the urgent solicitation of Victor Emmanuel, promising a condition that the demands of the papacy should be resisted at all hazards. He now assumed the direction of the administration for the first time, as president of the Council, and minister of finance.

He had now reached the height of power, and his execution of the trust reposed in him fully justified his self-confidence. From this time until his decease, he held, with little interruption, the helm of state. His extensive improvements in commercial regulation, the impetus he imparted to agricultural enterprise, the encouragement he gave to scientific and artistic endeavor, his zealous efforts to connect the great cities of his country by rail and telegraph, his straightforward and yet guarded transactions with foreign courts, the minute attention he bestowed upon the improvement of the lower classes, the vigor with which he opposed papal aggression, the interest he manifested in the military department, and the facility with which he reconciled antagonistic elements in the legislature, entitle him to the homage of mankind for the greatness and virtue of his statesmanship.

The Crimean war, which began in 1854, afforded

an opportunity to display masterly skill in directing the course of Sardinia ; Cavour went beyond the expectations of his countrymen in the success with which he emerged from this important crisis. Looking far into the future for the results of the step he was about to take, he at once recommended an alliance with the coalition ; and, in the midst of furious but unavailing opposition, he persuaded the Chamber to send twenty-five thousand men as the quota of Sardinia in the combined army. His ambition for his country discerned the time when Italy would compete with the Porte, France, and England for the supremacy of the inland seas ; and he resolved that his influence, and that of Piedmont, should be thrown into the scale which should exclude Russia from the competition. The wisdom of this policy, hazardous and foolhardy as it at first seemed, was afterwards recognized on all hands. The Sardinian troops behaved in a manner which elicited the applause alike of their confederates and their opponents ; and thence is to be traced that martial spirit which has since shown itself in successful resistance to dangers threatening their immediate existence.

To the Peace Congress which assembled in Paris at the conclusion of hostilities, to adjust the mutual relations of the great powers, Cavour, after a strenuous opposition from the Austrian delegates, was admitted as the representative of the court of Sar-

dinia ; and he embraced so favorable an opportunity of laying before the assembled statesmen the necessities, the distresses, and the hopes of his native country. He urged them to coöperate with the Piedmontese government in checking Austrian and papal domination over Italian territory, and proposed that all the powers should unite in a scheme to relieve the burden pressing upon that injured people. Although remonstrances so reasonable, and advocated with so much skill, did not produce the conviction sanguinely hoped for, they directed attention more particularly to the existing evils, and prepared the way for the mature sympathy which attended the more recent struggles of the Italians for constitutional liberty.

The imperial court, alarmed and exasperated at the favor with which the envoys of Piedmont had been received at the Peace Conference, now manifested a disposition to quarrel with the rising kingdom, and, if possible, to find an excuse for displaying Austrian bayonets beyond the Ticino. Diplomatic recrimination having failed to subdue the spirit of Victor Emmanuel, the Austrian envoy at his court was recalled, which elicited a similar movement on his part. Cavour now saw that a terrible crisis was imminent, and involved in that crisis were all the great interests of his country. Sardinia was not yet completely restored from the exhaustion which the former

disturbances had produced, and the premier discerned the futility of an attempt on her part to cope alone with the fresh and well-disciplined multitudes of Austrian soldiery. To England he would naturally have looked for sympathy and coöperation in a distressing exigency; but a misunderstanding, arising out of a difference between the English and Sardinian envoys with regard to the Danubian provinces, made a demand in that quarter inexpedient.

He therefore made proposals to the Emperor Napoleon, who not only listened with favor to his schemes for the regeneration of Italy, but entered into an alliance with Sardinia — an event which was confirmed by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, then heir presumptive of France, with the crown princess of Piedmont. Cavour, rejoiced to convey to his countrymen such welcome news, now set earnestly about putting the army and the fortifications on an efficient basis, and worked night and day in preparing to resist every aggressive act of the enemy. At times he doubted whether Austria would thus rashly call down upon her conduct the reprehension of the civilized world; but he was soon convinced of her intentions, by the ultimatum of the Austrian ambassador, and his retirement in April. At Cavour's recommendation, dictatorial power was conferred *pro tempore* upon the king, the ultimatum was rejected, and almost immediately the Austrian forces advanced

within Italian territory. After some difficulty, a junction was effected by land and water between the allied forces ; and the world knows the result — the decisive victories, culminating on the field of Solferino.

Cavour now saw almost consummated the great end of his existence — the enfranchisement of all Italy, and the union of the states into a vast confederacy. Austria was driven effectually from every province except Venetia ; and soon, thanks to the generosity of the French emperor and the valor of the French troops, that fair district would also, without doubt, participate in the freedom of her sister states. When, therefore, the news came to the excited minister, that the two imperial generals had met at Villafranca, and, after a short conference, had concluded a treaty, by which Venetia continued under Austrian domination, he was thoroughly prostrated by the suddenness and magnitude of the blow. Impelled by bitter disappointment, which well nigh drove him at first to despair, he threw up the seals, quarrelled with the king, and retired to the family manor at Leri. There he diverted his mind from the topics which had previously absorbed his existence, but which now distressed him, by genial intercourse with the rural dignitaries who lived near him, by the pleasant recreations of agriculture, and by resorting for mental repose to the prolific store-

house of literature. Among those with whom he associated he was frank, unaffected, and genial ; and his manners, while they never lost that dignity which gentle birth and political importance alike sustained, were yet such as to win the confidence and esteem of all who approached him.

The love of the people of Italy followed him to his peaceful retreat in the country ; their sympathy accorded with their reason in a thorough reliance upon his judgment and his patriotism. Vain were the attempts to form a government which did not recognize Cavour as its leading spirit. His return to the national councils was indispensable to peace at home and safety abroad. The king sent for him, and they became friends again, never after to be separated ; and once more every citizen felt secure under the guidance of his good right hand.

We need not refer to the circumstances which compelled his acquiescence in the treaty of Villafranca ; they are a part of the history of the day, and all of our readers are doubtless familiar with them. The question of the surrender of Savoy and Nice also, a measure which more than any other of his administration has diminished the popularity of Cavour, is one which has been so often and so fully discussed, that it need not be reverted to here. It would seem that the two considerations, that it was absolutely necessary to prevent French interference with politi-

cal projects of the greatest magnitude, and that the question of separation was referred to the people of the provinces before the cession took place, are adequate reasons for his policy in that transaction.

Cavour's brief retirement had invigorated his frame, and restored him fresh and cheerful to the momentous labors which now devolved upon him. He proceeded at once to take measures for strengthening and consolidating the confederation which had been effected by the late war. In the mean time a new source of anxiety to his government arose, from the revolutionary and heroic achievements of Garibaldi. That chieftain, burning with a fervent and inconsiderate patriotism, with a rapidity marvellous, and to Cavour alarming, drove the petty tyrants of Sicily from their province, and the Neapolitan monarch from his throne ; set up a provisional government in the metropolis ; and prepared to advance, with a rude but brave army, upon the papal possessions. Cavour saw nothing but ruin to the Italian cause in so precipitate a conquest. He well knew that a victory would be fruitless which would certainly be condemned by all the great powers, and that defeat would restore the infamous Francis to the throne of Naples. He avoided either alternative by marching a Sardinian army to form a junction with Garibaldi, displacing the martial government which had been erected at Naples, and relieving Garibaldi of the

command in chief. Thus with admirable tact he averted both collision with the French government, and a ruinous preponderance of the revolutionary faction in Southern Italy.

The gallant hero, who had been so marvellously successful in the field, had unhappily fallen under the malign influence of Mazzini's followers, and was withal sorely disappointed at the sudden termination of his brilliant progress. He from that moment conceived a morbid dislike to the prime minister, which not a little injured the harmonious organization of the Italian kingdom. Having become the representative of a democratic constituency, he was so unwise as to attack with unpardonable virulence the statesman who, above all men, civilians or soldiers, had brought Italy to its present proud position. Cavour, with a condescension which elicited universal applause, showed himself quick to forgive the impetuous expressions of one who had displayed so warm a patriotism; and a reconciliation — unfortunately a reconciliation but in name — took place, shortly before Cavour's death, between the two greatest Italians of the present century.

The minister meanwhile was attentively absorbed in the provisional governments of the several states, and in furthering defences and improvements throughout Italy. With a skill unsurpassed in the history of ancient or modern statesmanship, he fused the dis-

cordant institutions and prejudices of Piedmont and Naples, Genoa and Lombardy, Venice and Sicily, into a harmonious and well-balanced system. The space allowed us will not permit a survey of the various alterations he introduced into the constitution : this belongs peculiarly to the province of the future historian of Italy. Suffice it to say, that the system erected mainly by his efforts commands the approbation of the most enlightened statesmen and economists of the civilized world, and that its beneficial fruits are already appearing in a rapidly growing commerce, an enthusiastic national spirit, and the increasing interest manifested in all the institutions of religion, learning, and benevolence.

In the midst of such glorious labors, Count Cavour was marked by the destroyer ; and while his country more than ever needed his stately intellect, he was about to pass to other worlds. On the 30th of May, 1861, he had a chill, and he himself prescribed bleeding. The next day he gave audience to a deputy who had just returned from Naples ; and so exciting was the discussion during that interview, that he became rapidly worse, and so continued till June 4, when the conviction sadly forced itself upon his physicians, that further attempts to check the fever would be futile. He had been excommunicated from the church by the bulls of Pius ; nevertheless, Frà Giacomo, a near personal friend, consented to ad-

minister to his dying patron the holy sacrament. That scene must have been deeply impressive. Below in the street were a multitude of hushed and mourning citizens, assembled at the last solemn rite in which their great friend was to participate. As the holy father ascended the broad portico which led to the palace, attended by the sacred paraphernalia of the church, the grief of the populace became evident in uncontrollable sobs and moans. Within the ample edifice lay the dying statesman, surrounded by the relatives and friends he loved so well, his intellect clear and calm, his whole mind intent upon the ceremony of which he was about to be the central figure. After the sacrament had been administered, he enjoyed a few hours of peaceful rest; and in the evening the king came to that final parting which was to bereave him of a strong and trusty pilot. The interview was pathetic beyond description. The distinction between king and subject was lost in the love between man and man. On the 6th of June, Camillo di Cavour ceased to live, passing gently away, his departure hardly perceptible to those who watched his every breath. The public grief was profound and universal. All business and pleasure were abandoned out of respect to the memory of the great deceased. It was as if the chill spirit of Death brooded over every household, — as if in his death each family had lost a common parent.

Well might city and country be hushed in gloom ; well might the beautiful land be shrouded in universal sorrow. In him they had lost one who was to them as Washington was to us ; and he had been taken, not as Washington was taken, in the evening of his life, and under the security of a completed structure, but while many years seemed still in store for him, and in the midst of a work in which order had yet hardly emerged from the chaos of revolution. Happily for them, another statesman was found, who, though he could not fill the place made vacant by the great calamity, has nevertheless exhibited an ability and judgment equal to the demands of his position.

While a contemplation of Count Cavour's public career must elicit the highest respect for his genius and virtue, the record of his private excellence calls forth our love. Although he never entered into the noblest and wisest of domestic relations, he was yet renowned for love of social intercourse, for the vivacity and wit of his conversation, and for a benevolence which never slumbered. Throughout a life of almost uninterrupted toil, his temper remained sweet and forgiving, his manner retained its original elegance and kindness, and his heart continued to beat in cordial sympathy with those to whom he was attached in friendship. Political life did not contract his mind, as it is very apt to do, to a mere capacity for fulfilling its requirements. He possessed and cultivated a rare

taste for art and science, took a lively interest in the pursuits of gardening and farming, and enjoyed with genuine zest the relief which a refined and brilliant social circle gave from the weary hours of official labor. Such a character is seldom found in the annals of statesmanship and patriotism, — which too often teem with the evidences of selfishness, cruelty, and corruption. As an illustrious representative of the great principles of free government, we of America willingly place his name in envied proximity to that of our own beloved Washington. When the present exists only in history, and a future empire, extending from the Alps to the Sicilies, shall recognize but one sovereign through all its classic territory, the name of Cavour will be enshrined alone in the innermost Italian heart, and will be an inspiration to the noblest deeds.

VII.

THE LAST DAYS OF CHATHAM.

FEW incidents of history are more touching or more memorable than the death of a great statesman or soldier while in the discharge of his duty. To be called away in the freshness of intellectual vigor, in presence of co-workers, and while exerting energy in behalf of one's country, is an event reserved for a few, and fails not to enhance the glory of a well-spent life. So died the great Earl of Chatham. His fame had surpassed that of all his predecessors in the public arena of Great Britain. He had risen from a middle rank to the first honors of the state. By a brilliant eloquence, an accurate knowledge of detail, and a proud and uncompromising spirit, he had successfully opposed the ministry of Newcastle, and had become himself the controller of the destinies of the British empire. A war, unsurpassed for centuries in the magnitude of its operations and the importance of its results, had been conducted by him with success, and had been brought to an honorable and glorious termination. After leading for many years the lower

House of Parliament, he had been rewarded in his old age with an earldom, and reflected honor upon the hereditary legislators of the realm by his presence among them.

By the grace of his manner and the finish of his address, he had obscured the declining years of the versatile Chesterfield. By his sonorous and thrilling diction, he had snatched from the brow of Carteret the laurel which had been awarded to him by the common acquiescence of his countrymen. By his energetic legislation, he had eclipsed the renown which a haughty posterity had claimed with justice for Halifax and Walpole, Oxford and Pelham. By the earnestness and consistency of his devotion to the common weal, he had shared with Sidney and Milton the love and confidence with which a people ever regard those who are zealous for their honor. By the impassioned philippics which he directed against those arbitrary ministers who, in spite of the remonstrances of public opinion, had persisted in declaring "taxation no tyranny" towards the American colonies, he secured to himself the esteem of a great nation and their descendants through all time. Against the hatred of the reigning sovereign, against the prejudices of a proud and insolent nobility, against the opposition of a shallow but avowed favorite, against the wealth, talent, and prestige of the entire Tory influence; amid the gloom of impending

tyranny, the operation of every foul art, and the propagation of every absurd slander, this great man had stood forth in a valiant defence of constitutional privilege and the claims of a people disenthralled. No one could doubt the sincerity of a man who could for years reject the most alluring offices of honor and emolument, and resist, though possessing an ambitious spirit, the venal offers of corrupt ministers. No aspersion could be cast upon the character of one who remained, during the flower of his manhood and his glory, on the benches of a hopeless opposition, and in spite of court, majorities, and the oft-repeated taunts of such hirelings as Fox and Doddington, continued to avow and to urge the doctrines from which he had never swerved. Gradually he had attached to himself the favor of an immense majority of his countrymen; and the king, though cordially detesting him, was forced to admit him to the highest trust within the reach of a British subject.

His body, long tried by distressing and dangerous disease, had, for some time previous to his death, given evidence of an approaching dissolution. The activity of his mental faculties, however, discovered no abatement; and in spite of corporeal pain, he continued to arraign in the upper House the ministers whose errors were gradually involving his country in calamity. In the intellectual vigor of the prime of life, when men commonly put forth their best energies,

and when he thought he discerned in coming events the downfall of his enemies and the establishment of those principles which it had been his life-long labor to achieve, he was struck down in his place of duty and of honor, before his opponents and his confederates, in presence of a multitude petrified by the great calamity which now befell the nation. What a scene does this present! The most illustrious of living statesmen felled by the dread destroyer in the midst of his appeals for justice and liberty! The most eloquent of living orators struck down, even while the silver tones which had thrilled thousands of his countrymen were filling with their earnest pathos the hall of Westminster, and as the fire of his great spirit burst from that eagle eye!

The place, the occasion, the audience there assembled, were appropriate to such an event. It was on the spot where the cowardly and despotic John had been compelled by the barons of England to affirm the Magna Charta of their liberties. It was the hall where each succeeding Plantagenet had reaffirmed with solemn oaths the obligations of that great instrument. It was the hall in which had resounded the earnest and passionate eloquence of Shaftesbury, Hampden, and Russell, in behalf of the rights of man. It was the hall in which, at the close of the preceding century, William Prince of Orange had assumed the throne left vacant by the flight of the lawful sovereign,

and had affixed a willing sign-manual to the Declaration of Rights. The same precincts had been for more than a quarter of a century the scene of his own victorious progress, where he had compelled the attention of an unwilling audience, where he had successfully restrained the excesses of a powerful ministry, where he had defended the virtue and capacity of the people against the undue influence of exclusive oligarchists, where he had won the love of friends, the respect of enemies, and the admiration of foreign powers. It was a fit spot whereon to terminate such a life.

The occasion was marked by a renewal of the bitter discussions between the advocates of taxation without representation and the advocates of the right of colonies to tax themselves, or, if taxed by others, to be admitted into an equal position in the body which claimed the right to tax them. A war was raging in the western continent, provoked by a dogged determination of ministers, instigated by an arbitrary king, to test the power of the home government to enforce taxation. That struggle had been foreseen by Pitt, and in tones of prophetic warning he had deprecated the rash purpose of the cabinet. He had depicted with glowing language the wickedness of such a step, and turning from the assertion of principle to the consideration of expediency, he had demonstrated the natural advantage, the earnest spirit,

and the unanimous sentiment of the trans-Atlantic provinces, proving how useless and how destructive was the attempt to subdue them. On the fatal day, the proud but courteous Richmond, afterwards himself a convert to the cause of the colonies, had been sneering at their resistance, and counselling a vigorous prosecution of military subjugation. The last words of the Great Commoner sent a thrill of pride through his adherents, and dismay among the ranks of the party in power: "Do justice to America! Do it to-night! Do it ere you sleep!" Thus were the last moments of this illustrious person employed in stirring appeals to the nobles of England in behalf of a distant and a distressed people.

He attempted to proceed, but the touch of death was on him, and he sank in an apoplectic fit in the arms of the lords near him. After lingering a short time, he died in the presence of his bereaved wife and children.

The scene was not more remarkable for the fitness of the occasion and the place, than for the illustrious array of persons who were present at the downfall of their great contemporary. It is true that many of the master-minds, with whom he had waged a successful warfare, no longer frequented the scenes of their renown and of his victories. Henry Fox, a rival worthy of his metal, whose keen logic had proved almost a match for that brilliant diction which de-

spised the restraint of detail and statistics, had preceded him to the great judgment-seat. The courtly Chesterfield no longer entranced coronetted beauties by the grace of his bow, and had ceased to lend a searching sarcasm to the cause of deposed sovereignty. The voice of the handsome and impulsive Carteret, who for the splendor of his oratory was only surpassed by Chatham himself, was hushed in the silence of the grave. Murray had retired to the stately seclusion of the King's Bench. Montagu was no longer the patron of letters, the confidant of sovereigns, the complete master of finance.

But of the generation of great minds then in its zenith, and of that golden age of intellect which was just opening, many lent their presence to the closing scene in the life of their contemporary and instructor. The gentle and lovable Rockingham and the dignified Shelburne looked with pride upon a death-scene made glorious by the intrepid advocacy of their cherished principles. Lord North, whose bitter Toryism did not obstruct a kind spirit and a winning manner, viewed with regret the declining life of the highest ornament of Great Britain, and forgot partisan antipathy in the grief of friendship. The proud Bedford, the versatile Carlisle, and the generous Devonshire, mourned the death of one whose name had reflected honor on their hereditary order, and to whose genius the most ancient and renowned houses

in the land gave a willing and an enthusiastic homage. All alike of those who had been the witnesses of his active career, Tories and Whigs, friends of the king and friends of the colonies, aristocrats, gentlemen, and commoners, were cognizant of the calamity which befell the nation in the departure of so magnanimous and so noble an intellect.

There, too, were present that trio of splendid minds who in the succeeding era amazed mankind by their grand conflicts in eloquence and legislation. There Burke, risen so far in the scale of distinction that he began to be talked about as a promising orator, heard with delight the magic words which inspired all his future life with the spirit of political liberty. There the younger Fox, the son of the foremost rival of Chatham, and himself in after years a greater rival of a greater Pitt, heard the passionate tones which had again and again driven his father vanquished from a well-contested field. There the younger Pitt, leaning on the banister which separated the spectators from the peers, listened with wonder to the marvellous eloquence which was his greatest heritage, and which he of all Englishmen alone rivalled. There Sheridan, just rising from the affectation of the actor to the dignity of the legislator, and his fervid spirit burning with zeal for liberty, caught the inspiration of the great soul just departing, and consecrated his future efforts to the cause of pop-

ular rights. Perhaps, too, the mysterious terror of ministers and the hidden, good right hand which had lashed corruption on every side, but which had paused with reverence before the name of Chatham, perhaps Junius was there, contemplating the fall of so much greatness, and picturing to himself, with a spirit of gloomy prophecy, the future disasters of the empire.

Chatham had ceased to hold that magic influence over the masses which had enabled him to sustain himself so long in a suspicious and hostile court. No popular acclamations had lately greeted his carriage as it rolled from Hayes to Westminster Hall. Mayors and corporations no longer presented him the freedom of cities in gold boxes. His power as a statesman fled when his empty grandeur as a peer began. He left that body in which all his triumphs had been won, and in which, had he continued there, many would have yet been in store for him, and seated himself among the hereditary nobles, shorn of the strength he had retained so long. Obsequious even to servility, he had allowed himself to be cajoled by the crown in his old age, which he had disdained in the pride of his early days. Nevertheless, his death was mourned with one accord throughout the entire nation. All felt that the country had lost its brightest ornament. Parliament hastened to vote a public funeral and a monument, the payment of his debts, and a provision for his family. Not a word of

remonstrance or opposition was heard in either house. It was a matter of course that he should be borne with the greatest pomp and state to the final home of so many illustrious Englishmen, and that he should be laid in the great Abbey, beside Bacon and Newton, Milton and Shakspeare, Russell and Locke.

On the day of burial the great metropolis was as hushed as on the Sabbath. Business was abandoned and pleasure suspended, while the great living were paying their final tribute to the great dead. The proudest nobles vied with each other for prominence in the melancholy pageant. The descendant of the Cavendishes and the excellent Rockingham supported the shield emblazoned with the arms of the noble house of Chatham. Edmund Burke, Lord George Savile, and Lord Ashburton bore the pall upon which rested the remains of the deceased. Thus, attended by the first of the land, was the Great Commoner laid by the side of those who had gone before him, having died amid the applause of their countrymen. No one of all that splendid array, whose praises were recorded on the magnificent shafts which had been reared above them, had left a more virtuous or a more exalted reputation than did their new companion in that stately solitude. While his contemporaries were not ashamed to use the arts of corruption and intrigue to gain a majority of the lower House, and while Henry Fox was so base as to insist on having the privilege

of bribing the members, the pure spirit of Chatham had proudly disdained to degrade himself by such an artifice, and had left to the cunning Newcastle and the unprincipled Legge the application of secret service-money and pensions.

Ambitious to a fault, imperious to his equals and inferiors, neglecting the courtesies which distinguished the elegant society around him, and too proud to compromise even for the national good, his career compensated for these venial deficiencies by the purity and integrity which were never once violated. Consistent to the last in his hatred of tyranny, in his opposition to Jacobitical treachery, and in a dignified and earnest assertion of the just rights of the governed, he was yet so ingenuous as to change his principles, when persuaded that to change them was to do right. The pertinacity with which he adhered to a remorseless war policy, in which, no doubt, ambition for glory got the mastery over patriotism, and which is indefensible, is the greatest stain on this great man's public character, and is ill balanced by the splendid victories which were achieved. He lived an enthusiast for the extension of freedom ; not like some modern fanatics, looking forward to a period of Utopian bliss, and attempting to destroy every social barrier to attain impossible ends, but, like Webster, zealous for the preservation of rational restraint, and devoted to the attainment of intelligent liberty. And

he died universally revered ; by his enemies, for his candor and his constant manly bearing ; by his friends, for his generosity, his devotion to their cause, his steady friendship ; by other nations, for his zeal in behalf of all oppressed mankind ; and he has been revered by succeeding generations, for the example of a life devotion to principle, which was the crowning glory of his career.

VIII.

LEIGH HUNT.

THE regency and reign of George the Fourth, disgraced as they were by the profligacy of the sovereign and the easy morality of his court, were, nevertheless, brilliant in military achievements, and in the creations of literary and æsthetic genius. The preceding age had produced no such generals as Wellington and Uxbridge, no such poets as Byron, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, no such novelist as Scott, no such critics as Lord Francis Jeffrey and Sir James Mackintosh. The arts of literature, which had become heavy and methodical by the too sensitive ear of Pope, the graceful monotony of Addison, and the ponderous genius of Johnson, were in this period restored to a vigorous independence, such as gave full vent to those illustrious writers who adorned the otherwise splendid reign of Elizabeth. A few years ago some of the foremost of those who figured as reformers in George's reign were yet living — Rogers, De Quincey, Moore, Wordsworth, Talfourd. Now but one remains to represent that brilliant era. Lord Brougham still

lives to adorn Westminster Hall by his yet stirring eloquence, to elevate science by his patient and penetrating research, and to enrich letters by a critical ability and a memory rich in historic lore, such as few men possess in the prime of life.

A consideration of the literature of the period referred to discovers great variety, both in the current of thought and in the different styles which gave it expression. This is more especially the case with the poets; and from this diversity a natural consequence was, that literary men separated into cliques, each adopting peculiar shades of sentiment or diction, and each bitterly antagonistic to all the others. Thus arose different schools of poetry, all agreeing, perhaps, in rejecting the poets of the eighteenth century, as enslaved by the empire of rhythm over ideas, all eschewing the rules enounced by the schools of which Pope and Goldsmith were representatives, but seeking, each after its own peculiar system, to reform and to elevate by widely diverging methods. Of the new generation of poets, Lord Byron rose first, and assumed for a while the dictatorship of poetry and of popular applause. As his rise was sudden, so was his downfall; and after being alternately flattered by the highest encomiums, and condemned by the bitterest sneers, of his countrymen, he finally was entirely superseded by other schools. Then the "Lake poets," at first and for many years assailed by the fiercest

enmity of an almost unanimous critical opinion, and doomed by the most powerful censors to oblivion and ignominy, slowly approached the public ear, and finally established themselves securely in the popular esteem. Of the Lake school, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth were the shining lights; and they, uniting on common ground in their political, religious, and literary opinions, first opened a new path into which poetic inspiration should be directed, going back to the Elizabethan era in their disregard of metrical accuracy. While this coterie was yet struggling for supremacy, there appeared, trumpeted by Leigh Hunt in "The Examiner," what their contemporary enemies contemptuously called the "Cockney school," of which Keats became the martyr and Shelley the hope. Attracted by the erratic genius of the one, and by the independent mind and warm heart of the other, Hunt proposed to himself the glory of heralding the approach of a new era, which should eclipse the fairest periods of poetical history. The novel opinions to which the revolutionists of France gave birth, harmonizing with their enthusiastic spirits, became the creed of the Cockneys; and their issues were heresies, the more dangerous because clothed in the alluring splendor of poetry. The result of so ill-judged an attempt to seduce public sentiment from an appreciation of healthy to a taste for morbid literature, was a just retribution upon its authors; for Shelley

was not only expelled from the University of Oxford for atheistical opinions, but was shunned alike by literary men and by the public; and Keats, after insanely endeavoring to gain for himself national favor, received, at the hands of the "Quarterly Review," a fatal blow to his current reputation, if not to his enduring fame. Leigh Hunt was endowed with much less genius, less independence, and more foresight, than his unfortunate friends. His writings evinced less originality, less brilliancy of imagination, less startling scepticism. He therefore escaped the withering rebukes of those critics who assumed, and soon acquired, the position of oracles. His mind, too, was more healthily organized than those of Shelley and Keats; and instead of rushing headlong into the wild theories of Voltaire, he rejected the doctrine of "liberty, equality, fraternity," as interpreted by the Jacobins and Republicans, and clung to limited monarchy with all its faults.

For several generations the ancestors of Leigh Hunt, on his father's side, were natives of Barbadoes; and his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father were all clergymen of the established church of England. Isaac Hunt, at an early age, was sent to college in Philadelphia, and afterwards in New York. It was at the latter place, as Leigh tells us, that a romantic incident occurred, which was materially to affect his future. When he was delivering his oration,

at the close of his collegiate course, two young ladies among his audience, charmed, doubtless, no less by his graceful delivery and flowing style, than by his blue eyes and well-chiselled features, were so indiscreet as to fall in love with him. With one of them he was equally well pleased, and after a courtship which seems to have derived its chief charm from mutual recitations of the poets, they were married. It is an amusing feature of this incident, that the two ladies stood to each other in the relation of aunt and niece, though they were nearly of the same age.

The mother of Leigh Hunt was a daughter of Stephen Shewell, a Philadelphia merchant of wealth, and of Quaker descent. Dr. Franklin was intimate at his house, and once offered to teach Miss Shewell the guitar; but she was too shy to accept his tutorship. Mr. Isaac Hunt was at first destined for the church; but showing a disinclination to that profession, he began the study of law in Philadelphia. When the revolution broke out, he warmly espoused the cause of the king; and so earnest was he in the expression of his opinions, that he was mobbed by the populace. He was obliged to escape by stealth from the city, and succeeded in reaching a ship bound for England. He now entered the church; and when Mrs. Hunt afterwards joined him, she found him officiating as rector of Bentinck Chapel at Paddington. He afterwards became tutor to Mr. Leigh, nephew of

the Duke of Chandos, the gentleman for whom he named the subject of this sketch. He seems at this time to have had high hopes of a bishopric, through the influence of the duke, his patron ; but he never rose above the rectorship of a popular chapel. As Leigh Hunt describes his father, we cannot help assimilating him to Thackeray's character of Charles Honeyman, in "The Newcomes," with his smooth, liquid voice, his flowing style, his studied grace, his sleek appearance, and his occasional convivial indiscretions. He seems to have loved gayety and fun, and to have cared more for worldly comfort than for spiritual food. His indolence soon reduced him to poverty ; and although he had been popular as a preacher, he now found but few friends to relieve him. From a High-Churchman and a Tory, he became a Universalist and a semi-Republican ; and these later views of the father were inculcated in his early lessons to his son, who adhered to them through life. Mrs. Hunt is described by her son as a sensitive woman, keenly alive to the appearance of distress, melancholy, but withal of great moral courage.

Leigh Hunt was born on the 19th of October, 1784, at Southgate, a beautiful village in Middlesex ; a spot also known as the resting-place of Coleridge and Lamb, and formerly as the residence of Arbuthnot, Akenside, Shelley, and Keats. He was a sickly child, and the village physician used to predict that

he would die an idiot before he was fifteen. He was early sent to France to improve his health ; and such was the watchful solicitude of his mother, that he finally grew up a healthy, bright-eyed lad, ready at all times for study or frolic. As he became more mature, his character developed partly after the disposition of his father, and partly after that of his mother. At times he would be happy and boisterous, and, donning his childish sword and cap, he would amuse himself with military sports ; at other times he would become grave and solemn, and stealthily abstracting his father's surplice and bands from the closet, would proceed to deliver a pompous homily to the astonished and delighted servant-maid.

His early childhood was passed during a period peculiarly eventful in the history of England. The American revolution, in which both his parents had a personal interest, had but a little before his birth resulted in the success of the colonies. The French revolution was approaching, and ere long would burst upon the doomed people, and at one blow shake philosophy, religion, social order, and political system to their foundations. Burke, Fox, and Pitt were rising to the leadership of the House of Commons ; Goldsmith and Johnson had just disappeared forever from the scenes of their enduring triumphs ; Cowper was the presiding genius of poetry ; the Empress Catharine was startling Europe by her mas-

culine energy; Great Britain was on the verge of passing from the government of a crazy father to that of a licentious and indolent son; Voltaire and Paine were attracting to their intellectual dominion the flower of the continental youth; Gibbon was alluring, by his specious sophistry, the minds of men from the perception of the true influence of Christianity; Sheridan was the dictator of the drama; and Mrs. Siddons was just engaging the applause of the British public by her majestic presence and wonderful passion. Hunt's early recollection teemed with such remembrances as these. He had seen Pitt in the House of Commons appealing to his colleagues with a "loud, important, and hollow voice;" he had looked with wonder upon Horne Tooke, whom he had been taught to believe a man of surprising learning and sagacity; he had met John Wilkes and Charles Townshend, and was thus enabled to contrast the ugliest and the handsomest man of the time; he had listened with rapture to the queen of the British stage; he had been charmed with the matchless beauty of the Duchess of Devonshire.

In 1792 he was admitted a student in the school of Christ's Hospital, which was originally intended by Edward the Sixth as a foundation for poor orphan children born in London, but which afterwards extended its benefits to the middle classes as well as the lower. In this school had been educated some of the

first writers and scholars of England — Richardson, the genial author of "Pamela" and "Clarissa;" Bishop Stillingfleet, whose courtly eloquence charmed the nobility of Queen Anne's time; Mitchell, the translator of Aristophanes; Horne, the theologian; Barnes, for many years editor of "The Times;" Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Charles Lamb.

Leigh Hunt was placed in the grammar school, devoted to the instruction of those who intended pursuing the liberal professions. Many are the amusing incidents of his school days with which he entertains us; how the quaint dresses of the scholars used to astonish the passers in the street; how, indignant at the cruelty of one of the larger scholars towards a smaller, he soundly thrashed the bully, and humbled him; how the master, Boyer, was a tyrant after the fashion of Squeers, and seemed to delight in punishing poor Leigh for stammering; how they were preached to alternately by exceedingly prosy and exceedingly energetic divines; how all the boys looked up to a Grecian, and how the Grecians used to walk straight forward, overturning with exquisite composure the smaller urchins who happened to be in their path; how many a cunning trick, sometimes successful, sometimes abortive, was played upon the dreaded master, and how a spirited boy once in a while braved his fury, and by impudence conquered him; how he once saw Lamb, "with his fine intelli-

gent face," on a visit to his Alma Mater ; with what enthusiasm he spent his sixpences at the book-stall round the corner, on a humble edition of the poets ; how he learned to appreciate Homer and Ovid, to love Goldsmith and Pope, to study Atterbury and Wharton ; how he formed friendships lasting and delightful, which were always to be kept fresh ; and with what tearful regret he finally left that scene of his joys and sorrows and his best friendships, and, assuming a hat and coat, entered once more the bustling world. It is the old story of school life in England, vividly told, and rich in pleasant details, attractive alike by its simplicity and its enthusiasm.

While at this school he became intimate with two families, of which he speaks with such affectionate interest that we cannot avoid noticing them. One was that of Benjamin West, F. R. S., the illustrious painter and elegant gentleman. Mr. West had married a relative of Mrs. Hunt, and was an American by birth. In his house Leigh was ever welcome, and many were the delightful hours he spent there. He says of Mr. West, "He was a man with mild, regular features, and, though of Quaker origin, looked what he was, a painter to the court. His appearance was so gentlemanly, that the moment he changed his gown for a coat he seemed to be full dressed." The young scholar was wont to wander with rapture among the productions of the artist's

pencil; rapt in admiration at Sir Philip Sidney giving up the water to the dying soldier; awe-stricken at the wild brilliancy of Ophelia's countenance; inspired with pious reverence as he gazed upon the calm, perfect face of Christ Healing the Sick. He says, "My mother and I used to go down the gallery as if we were treading on wool." The quiet kindness of the Wests, the pleasant humor of the artist, and the always cheerful welcome, awaken warm remembrances of those delightful visits. Nor does he forget to mention the footman, who figured in his master's pictures as an apostle, and the butler, who wore his own likeness with proud ostentation on his shirt bosom.

The other family of which he retains pleasant reminiscences was that of Mr. Godfrey Thornton, who lived in Austin Friars. There his recollections teem with lawns and rich gardens, cordial welcomes and music, hospitality and female loveliness, a union of gayety and of intellectual delight.

Leigh's first love was Fanny Dayrell, his cousin, a bright West Indian lass, who, as being older than himself, used to dampen his ardor by contemptuously calling him *petit garçon*. She soon after married, and they were separated for many years; but when they again met, after many vicissitudes to both, Leigh confesses to an emotion for which he had to seek his wife's forgiveness.

After leaving school he turned his attention to the study of the profession which he had determined to follow — the unsubstantial profession of literature. In 1802 his father published a volume of his verses, which, according to himself and every one else, were wretched. Nevertheless, the critics dealt with it with unaccountable gentleness, and for a time he was quite a lion among the *litterati*. He then became much interested in two subjects — the stage and military life. Bonaparte was threatening to crown his victorious course by achieving the conquest of England. Volunteers were forthcoming in multitudes, and companies were set to drilling throughout the kingdom. Leigh Hunt enlisted, but was soon discharged, with the rest of the valorous youth, when the imagined occasion disappeared. He attended the opera and theatre sedulously, and gives us charming descriptions of the eminent artists of the day. Catalani, with her wonderful vocal volume; Grassini, with her superb contralto; Pasta, uniting grace and tenderness; Jack Bannister, with his fair, round John Bull face and hearty honesty; Munden, exciting a roar without uttering a sound; Kemble, with his Roman stateliness and sonorous declamation; Siddons, with her dreary and terrible majesty; Mrs. Jordan, with her fine spirits and happy countenance, — all appear to us, through our author's delineation, moving, speak-

ing, provoking us to sadness, mirth, and wonder, as they did the generation of fifty years ago.

It was at this time that he wrote his first prose, confining himself mainly to theatrical criticism, which he contributed to a paper called "The Traveller." These essays were little better than his verses had been; they nevertheless gained for him a species of popularity. He devoted himself more earnestly than ever to books, among which the novels of Fielding, Smollett, Radcliffe, and La Fontaine were his especial favorites. This taste for novel-reading continued through life. Few will agree with his strictures on historians, for whom he entertained but little respect; and his censure of them, as "assuming a dignity for which I saw no particular grounds, as unphilosophic and ridiculous in their avoidance of personal anecdote, and, above all, as being narrow-minded and time-serving in confining their subjects to wars and party government," is unjust, exaggerated, and, as applied to the majority, totally false. But the writer for whom he evinces the most entire admiration is Voltaire. This enemy of religion and order he erects into a noble reformer; he contrives to find in him the most exalted virtues, while his vices are either ignored or rapidly passed over. It was undoubtedly this author who imbued Leigh Hunt with those revolutionary ideas which afterwards brought upon him merited misfortune and obloquy. He be-

came a member of a debating club, among whose members were Thomas Wilde, afterwards Lord Chancellor Truro, and Frederick Pollok, now chief baron of the exchequer; but a habit of stammering, which rendered it exceedingly difficult for him to speak in public, induced him to leave this assembly, and determined him against the pursuit of a political career.

In the year 1805 his brother, John Hunt, established a paper called "The News," and Leigh was engaged to contribute to it the department of theatrical criticism. He determined to break loose from the custom which uniformly prevailed among critics, of exchanging compliments with the actors, and bartering puffs for tickets and suppers. He dashed about indiscriminately on the stage, doomed Betty to oblivion, assailed Kemble with a force which he imagined would annihilate the great Shakspearian, and sought, at the age of twenty-one, to obliterate the fame of "The Rivals" and "The School for Scandal." These criticisms were published in a volume in 1807. The project of "The News" having failed of success, the brothers Hunt again essayed as journalists, and in 1808 "The Examiner" appeared as the result of their plans. It was the intention of the proprietors to make this journal the organ of the radical Reformists, of the ultra liberal theologians, and of independent literary criticism. It went beyond Fox in its advocacy of political innovation; it tended towards,

if it did not encourage, an approval of Bonaparte's career ; and it was unscrupulously malignant towards the king and his ministers. For a short time Leigh Hunt was a clerk in the war office, at the head of which Lord Sidmouth presided : but finding himself placed in the invidious position of attacking the party in power, while he was fed by its generosity, he resigned his position, and devoted himself exclusively to literary labor. While editor of "The Examiner," he made the acquaintance of many literary men, whose names have since become household words. At the table of Mr. Hill, proprietor of "The Monthly Mirror," he met the generous and sensitive author of "The Pleasures of Hope." He describes him as a genial companion, overflowing with humor, free and cordial, lively and earnest in conversation, not without a mixture of sarcasm, and, though rarely, of bitterness. His personal appearance — which indeed we might guess from his portraits — was classically handsome, and his manners elegant and scholastic. "Some gentle Puritan," says Hunt, "seemed to have crossed the breed, and to have left a stamp upon his face ;" but "he appeared not at all grateful for this, and when his critiques and his Virgilianism were over, very unlike a Puritan he talked !" Under the same hospitable roof he also found Theodore Hook, whose talent for extempore verse astonished and amused the company, while his

imitations of eminent characters were the more ludicrous for their lifelikeness. The comedian Matthews entertained them with similar exhibitions, remorselessly bringing forth Garrick, Siddons, and Sir Walter, for the edification of his friends. James and Horace Smith, the authors of "Rejected Addresses," also contributed to the good cheer of the guests.

"The Examiner," meanwhile, became so bitter in its onslaughts upon the government, that two prosecutions for libel were brought against the proprietors by Sir Vicary Gibbs, the attorney general, both of which were, however, dropped before they reached the judgment of the court. One of these libels was an attack on the Duke of York, then commanding the army in chief, for corruption in the sale of commissions; the other was a contemptuous article on the king. About this time (1809) Leigh Hunt married Marianne, daughter of Thomas Kent, Esq. In 1810, so successful had "The Examiner" become, on account of its popularity among the lower classes, that Mr. John Hunt established a quarterly magazine called "The Reflector," and the duty of editing it devolved on Leigh Hunt. To this periodical several of the most prominent writers contributed, among others, Lamb, Barnes, Dyer, and Aikin; but, in spite of every effort, it failed through want of encouragement. The fact was, that the Radicals were not generally from the richer classes, and hence could not support

a quarterly. It lived long enough, however, to give utterance to much partisan venom; and in its early pages appeared a work by Leigh Hunt, which his own subsequent judgment failed to justify, and in which many noble writers were attacked, namely, "The Feast of the Poets." It presented to the ridicule of the public the most eminent poets of the age, and was particularly severe upon Sir Walter Scott; the principal objection to whom, in the author's mind, seems to have been that he was a Tory. The author himself acknowledges this production to have been "a just ground of offence;" and certain it is that it brought down upon him nearly every literary celebrity, and caused an enmity to his paper which well nigh destroyed its existence. An excessive act of presumption soon after completed the ruin which he had barely escaped by the denunciation of critics. At an annual dinner of the Irish on St. Patrick's day, 1812, the name of the prince regent was received with groans and hisses. After some discussion of this indignity by the Whig and Tory organs, "The Examiner," ever ready for a verbal affray, took up the subject, and came out in the severest denunciation of the heir apparent. Hunt went so far in this article as to call the prince a liar, a libertine head over ears in disgrace, a despiser of domestic ties, the companion of gamblers and demireps, and other epithets equally gross. The government was prompt in

bringing the authors of this libel to the judicial bar. The result was, that, after a careful trial, Leigh Hunt and his brother were sent to prison for two years, and fined one thousand pounds. Such was the state of our author's health, that confinement in the ordinary cells might endanger his life; he was therefore transferred to the prison infirmary. Here he found a pleasant room, leading into a small but tasteful garden. "I papered the walls with a trellis of roses; I had the ceiling colored with clouds and sky; the barred windows I screened with Venetian blinds; and when my bookcases were set up with their busts, and flowers and a piano-forte made their appearance, perhaps there was not a handsomer room that side of the water." Thus with his exquisite taste did he contrive to make his new abode inhabitable; he had his family about him; his books were at his elbow; pen and paper were at hand, ready to fix a passing thought; and — what was no mean consideration — he had a jailer who was anxious to make him comfortable and happy. It was while he was imprisoned that he made the acquaintance of some of the first men of the time. Thomas Moore and Lord Byron visited him in his seclusion. Hazlitt came to cheer and amuse the martyred Radical. The venerable Bentham, now grown old in the service of political science, took pains to make the acquaintance of one about whom so much had been said. The

Lambs, too, ever ready to extend their sympathy to those in distress, were constant in their exertions to relieve his discomfort. On the 3d of February, 1815, Hunt again breathed free air. He took board with his family soon after his release on the Edgeware Road, near his brother's house. It was here that the acquaintance with Lord Byron ripened into friendship. Hunt's recollection of this remarkable person was that of a rather corpulent and strikingly handsome man, whose countenance wore an expression "of spirit and elevation," and who had "a very noble look." Byron seems at this time to have taken a liking to Hunt's society, and frequently urged him to go to the theatre and other amusements with him. His calls were very often repeated; and, as it was before the current of public opinion had turned against him, he was always vivacious and good-humored. Another visitor at his house, soon after his release from prison, was William Wordsworth. Upon Hunt's showing him his own works beside those of Milton in the library, the poet felt much gratified, and from that moment looked upon the author of the flattery with favor. He was a dignified man, with a rough but pleasant voice, prematurely gray and bald, with a very *grand* manner of speaking. "I never beheld," says Hunt, "eyes that looked so inspired or supernatural."

In the year 1816 Mr. Hunt went to reside in

Hampstead for his health ; and here he finished his " Story of Rimini," which had been commenced before his imprisonment. This poem is pronounced by the English critics the best that ever issued from his pen. It was after the manner of Dryden, and some portions of the poem are not unworthy imitations of him.

We are now at that period when he formed the remarkable friendship with Percy Bysshe Shelley, which was to remain tender and uninterrupted during the life of the latter. He had seen Shelley early in his own career as a journalist, but it was not until 1816 that they were so thrown together as to become intimate ; and meanwhile those domestic calamities and discords had occurred which nearly made the poet mad. Shelley and Keats met each other for the first time in Hunt's house at Hampstead. Our author had met the latter when he was at work on " The Examiner," and they had been mutually pleased. The young poets, aristocratic and plebeian, became friends ; although Keats was rather shy at first, distrustful of men of gentle birth. In some points of character they resembled each other closely ; in others they were utterly opposite. Both were melancholy, looking naturally upon the dark side of every question and circumstance. Both tended towards atheism, and both were radical reformists in morals, society, and government. Both rejected the ancient models

of poetry. But Keats was sullen, suspicious, and cold; Shelley was cordial, ingenuous, and simple-hearted. Keats dreaded, and Shelley longed to love, every man. Keats harped upon specific subjects, and thought in a limited sphere; Shelley at one time gloried in the fields, and flowers, and landscapes; at another, was held in awe by mighty subjects of eternal moment. But it melts our dislike of Keats's irritableness into compassion for his misery, when we think of that young life, wasted by malignant disease, disappointed in every hope by continued neglect or insult, — when we see him departing from his native land, which he was never again to behold, dragging his weary body to Italy, and, to the last despairing, but gentle, lying down to die among the tombs and ruins of the Eternal City. "Keats, when he died," says Leigh Hunt, "had just completed his four-and-twentieth year. He was under the middle height; and his lower limbs were small in comparison with the upper, but neat and well turned. His shoulders were very broad for his size; he had a face in which energy and sensibility were remarkably mixed up, — an eager power, checked and made patient by ill health. Every feature was at once strongly cut and delicately alive; the eyes mellow and glowing, large, dark, and sensitive. At the recital of a noble action or a beautiful thought they would suffuse with tears, and his mouth trembled."

Unfortunately for the prosperity of "The Examiner," Tory principles guided a large majority of the English people, as well as of the continental communities ; and in the year 1821 it had reached the end of its influence. Leigh Hunt, discouraged by the failure of his exertions in that direction, now determined to accept the invitation of his friend Shelley, who pressed him to go to Italy, where the latter was then residing. Shelley had conceived the project of establishing, conjointly with Byron and Hunt, a periodical of liberal bias, to advocate the ideas which were congenial to them all, to edit it in Italy, and to circulate it throughout Europe. Hunt embarked with his family in a vessel bound for the Mediterranean in November, 1821 ; but, being disabled by a storm in the Channel, the ship was obliged to put in at Plymouth. There Hunt remained, taking lodgings for the winter, until May, 1822, when he again sailed, and arrived at Genoa in the middle of the following month. His description of the voyage, his impressions on seeing for the first time the celebrated spots on the route, and his reflections while on shipboard, are full of interest. He staid in Genoa but a day or two, and set sail on the 28th of June for Leghorn, where he was to meet Byron and Shelley. He found the noble poet cosily domiciled at a delightful villa called Monte Nero, a short drive from the city, — the same house, indeed, which Smollett, the novelist,

had occupied in his last days. Thence he went, in company with Byron, to Leghorn, where they met Shelley; and they all repaired to Pisa, the city residence of Byron. Hunt was provided with apartments in Byron's house. The three enthusiasts, wandering about the curious old city, gave themselves up to rapturous dreams of future renown, and eagerly discussed projects which were to confound their enemies and astonish their friends. Their delightful companionship was, however, doomed to a most melancholy end by Shelley's death.

"Shelley, when he died," writes Hunt, "was in his thirtieth year. His figure was tall and slight, and his constitution consumptive. Though well turned, his shoulders were bent a little, owing to premature thought and trouble. The same cause had touched his hair with gray. Like the Stagirite's, his voice was high and weak. His eyes were large and animated, with a dash of wildness in them; his face small, but well shaped, particularly the mouth and chin, the turn of which was very sensitive and graceful."

Hunt remained three months at Pisa after his friend's decease, and thence went to Genoa with Byron. There they set about the work which had brought them to Italy, the publication of a periodical called "The Liberal." In the first number of this work appeared Shelley's last poem, an elegant trans-

lation from Goethe, called "The May-Day Night." At Genoa, Leigh Hunt occupied the same house with Mrs. Shelley, while Byron took a separate residence, the Casa Pallavicini. Here, owing to a broad difference of character, and dissimilarity of literary taste, the friendship between the editors of "The Liberal" began to cool, and in the end turned to absolute dislike. Hunt attributes this result to his own unwillingness to humor Byron's vanity, and to praise his works in terms sufficiently enthusiastic. Byron's friends, on the contrary, assert that he had, in the first instance, overrated the literary merit of Hunt; that he discovered him to be entirely incompetent to coöperate with him in his plans; that Hunt became jealous of the other's superior powers and fame, and that it was only at his earnest solicitation that Byron first entertained the idea of joint editorship. Hunt's description of his intercourse with Byron while in Italy is very entertaining. The noble poet, he tells us, sat up late at night writing "Don Juan," with a bowl of gin and water at his elbow. He did not rise till late, and then only to lounge about the garden, whistling or singing, chewing tobacco to prevent corpulency, or indulging in jocular conversation with those he happened to meet. He wore a nankeen jacket, white vest and trousers, and a small velvet cap. Their difference of opinion did not prevent good-humored banterings and discussions; and they

joked each other on the fact that there was only one book which both greatly admired, and that was Boswell's Johnson. Byron, in his jocular moods, used, for sport, to imitate Johnson in his manner and conversation, as well as other men of note.

After the vain attempt to make "The Liberal" successful, it was abandoned. Lord Byron went to Greece; Hunt remained at Genoa. Hunt gives us a vivid portrait of that noble city, describing its lovely site, the appearance, peculiarities, and manners of its people, the mode in which it is built, and the splendor of its edifices; accompanying us through the stately cathedrals, the galleries in which hang Raphaels and Giulios, the opera-houses, and the palaces of the illustrious dead. In the summer of 1823 he removed to Florence, so full of attraction to one who cherished historical and æsthetic reminiscences. He took a pleasant villa about two miles from the city, in a small place called Maiano. Here had once lived Boccaccio, who made the vicinity the scene of two of his stories in the "Decameron," and who revelled in its graceful and varied landscape. Near by, too, was the house which was once the property of Machiavelli; and at a short distance stood the village of Settignano, where Michael Angelo first learned to animate the marble with his marvellous creations. A man could not but be happy among such memorials. He had, too, English

neighbors to sympathize in his tastes, and to talk over home news with him; and in Florence he became acquainted with Landor, who was already eminent as a poet of nature, and whose interest in the historical attractions of Florence equalled that of Hunt himself. Lord Dillon also contributed, by his cordial temperament and elegant erudition, to make the days pass pleasantly.

Our author meanwhile labored as much as his health would permit, translated Redi's "*Bacco in Toscana*," and wrote various essays which he called "*The Wishing-Cap*," and which were the foundation of his larger work, "*The Town*." He attempted to establish a quarterly, which was to contain selections from the best English reviews for the entertainment of English residents; but the sensitiveness of the Tuscan government as to political articles, and their fear lest something revolutionary might creep into the new periodical, made the endeavor futile. He wrote also parts of another work, which he called "*Christianism, or Belief and Unbelief Reconciled*." It afterwards appeared, revised with additions, under the title of "*Religion of the Heart*."

After staying about two years among localities which enchanted him, Hunt started, in the autumn of 1825, on his return journey, going overland, travelling slowly in carriages. In this way he had fine opportunities for observing the varieties in Italian

scenery, people, and manners, passing through Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Asti, Turin, Susa; thence crossing from the Po over the Alps to Savoy, Chambéry (where he visited Rousseau's house), Lyons, and finally to Paris. He remained in the French metropolis two days only, in which time he hastily visited the places where the main incidents of the revolution were enacted, the palaces, and the galleries, not forgetting to spend a good share of his time in searching among the book-stalls. On the 14th of October he reached England, having been abroad more than three years. It was, indeed, with a feeling of infinite relief that he found himself again in his own country. He had recovered tolerably good health, had seen the glories of Italy, and had become a wiser man by his sojourn abroad; but meanwhile the want of regular employment had told upon his means of subsistence, and made him uneasy and dissatisfied. To one who had been so long among the rich scenery of Tuscany, the healthy freshness of English landscape seemed a relief; for, however much he admired the one, his choice was to live and die amid home scenes. "The pleasantest idea," says he, "which I can conceive of this world, as far as one's self and one's enjoyments are concerned, is to possess some favorite home in one's native country, and then travel over all the rest of the globe with those whom we love; always being

able to return if we please; and ever meeting with new objects as long as we choose to stay away."

Hunt's intimate connection with what was termed the "Cockney school" (to which, by the by, he claims that Chaucer, Milton, and Pope belonged), placed him at some disadvantage, owing to the unpopularity of its leading representatives. The Tories, stringently orthodox alike in politics and religion, opposed vehemently a class of men who aimed their most powerful anathemas against the existing institutions of both; and the Tories, backed by the king and the influence of Wellington, as well as by Sir Walter Scott, Southey, Coleridge, and other equally popular literary celebrities, were the controlling party in all matters of opinion. Hunt had friends, however, who appreciated him, and to the restricted measure of their ability encouraged his efforts to obtain a livelihood by his pen. Although he seems to have retained a cheerful disposition, he was exhausted by repeated and unsuccessful effort, while his health again became precarious. He took up his residence at Highgate, and there wrote the series of essays now known to the world as "The Companion." He also wrote, about this time, "Sir Ralph Esher," which is a fictitious memoir of a gentleman at the court of Charles II. It is a very entertaining little book, and presents in a free and unconstrained style the manners of those times, and some of the historical

characters. The vicinity of London was the only place in which literary labor could be conveniently pursued; and so Hunt removed to Old Brompton, and took rooms with Mr. Knight, with whom he issued a small daily paper called "The Tatler." This periodical was confined to literary and theatrical subjects, which contracted its circulation so far, that after a doubtful prosperity of three years it ceased. In 1833 his poems were collected, and issued by subscription. The liberal reform of 1832, and the benignant reign of William the Fourth, had produced a marked change in public sentiment: Tory politics and High Church prelates no longer assumed a censorship over every emanation from the press; and consequently the new volume was far from unpopular, and met with unexpected success. Meanwhile, the precarious state of Hunt's own health, and that of his family, induced him to remove to the quiet town of Chelsea, where they could enjoy pure air, freedom from bustle, and an easy access to the verdure of fields and meadows; while a proximity to the metropolis afforded every opportunity for comfort and convenient labor. Here he continued portions of his work, "The Town," contributed frequently to the Edinburgh and Westminster, and projected a periodical called "The London Journal;" besides which he wrote a poem entitled "Captain Sword and Captain Pen." "The London Journal" continued until 1836,

and was, as we might expect, of an entirely literary character, being made up of essays, criticisms, quotations, and, rarely, political articles.

Hunt had always had a taste for the drama, and a strong desire to try his hand at dramatic writing; and at different periods of his life he had attempted, unsuccessfully, to produce a good play. While at Chelsea, he again essayed in this field, and completed a piece called "The Legend of Florence." He greatly enjoyed this occupation; and the product of his labor, though at first rejected by the managers, was finally brought on the boards of Covent Garden in 1840. It met with decided success; the actors were delighted with it; Planché and Mrs. Kean, according to the author, were affected to tears by it; and, what was its chief victory, the queen herself patronized its performance. He also wrote "The Secret Marriage," — a piece founded on a tale of Navarre, which did not please the managers, but displays no small merit, — "Lover's Amazements," "The Double," "Look to your Morals," and "The Palfrey." It was while residing at Chelsea that he formed an acquaintance with one whose later works have elevated him to the first rank of philosophical essayists, and whose productions had then made his name well known as a rising writer. We refer to Thomas Carlyle, "whose eyes," says Leigh Hunt, "are the finest, in every sense of the word (and I

have seen many fine ones), which I have seen in a man's head." Hunt considers him a most eloquent man, with a kind and philanthropic heart, and a brain on fire at the wrongs and sophistries of mankind. His view of Carlyle's manner of attacking worldly evils is, that it is more rough and unforgiving than the author's nature would lead one to suppose; and he says, "I believe that what Mr. Carlyle loves better than his fault-finding, with all its eloquence, is the face of any human creature that looks suffering, and loving, and sincere."

An application was made by the friends of Leigh Hunt to Viscount Melbourne, the premier, for a pension, on the ground that a Liberal ministry could afford to assist one who had so long contended in behalf of the now dominant doctrines. But, although the courtesy of the minister forbade a blunt refusal, nothing further was gained from him than a bland and indefinite promise. Hunt thinks it was because Lord Melbourne considered it unbecoming in a sovereign, to grant a pension to a person, who had been imprisoned by his predecessor, for a libel against the crown; certainly this was a proper ground of refusal. His friends, failing in this project, set about another method for relieving his poverty. An amateur theatrical performance was given at Birmingham and Liverpool for his benefit; Ben Jonson's play of "Every Man in his Humor" was enacted; Charles

Dickens took the part of "Bobadil," and personated it admirably; Forster and Jerrold helped to fill up the *rôle*; Sergeant Talfourd and Sir Edward Bulwer composed an appropriate address for the occasion; and the affair terminated with applause to the distinguished actors, and substantial profit to the recipient of the testimonial. He removed from Chelsea to Kensington, where he wrote "Imagination and Fancy," "Stories from Italian Poets," and "The Jar of Honey," and completed "The Town." He also wrote at this time the main part of the biography which is now before us. In 1849 he revived "The London Journal" for a while, but it failed from the usual cause — want of funds. He was much pleased to find that his works had been republished in America, and enjoyed a good degree of popularity here; and he also had the satisfaction of seeing several of his dramas successfully reproduced in the principal theatres of the metropolis.

In the autumn of 1832 he lost a son of great merit, who promised to become eminent as a poet, and whose last words were, as his father says, "poetry itself." "I drink the morning," said he, as he drank some water which refreshed him.

The latest literary labors of Leigh Hunt were devoted to the revision and extension of his book entitled "Religion of the Heart," in which are set forth his theological opinions. It is in a genial,

hopeful strain. It was eminently a work of love, not written for gain, but put forth when age had ceased to crave lucre, and with the evident intention to do good. It was his dying legacy to his children and to the world; and such is the calm and loving tenderness with which he treats every subject that passes in review before him, that one must be drawn towards him, with all his faults of self-conceit and eccentricity. His wife died in 1857; and in his closing pages he pays her a pathetic tribute of affection. He describes her as generous, "free from every kind of jealousy, superior to illusions from the ordinary shows of prosperity." She had through life borne with him the vicissitudes of fortune without a murmur, and even cheerfully, and, when thoroughly sick and exhausted, never uttered a complaint. She was quite remarkable for the use of her pencil, received compliments from Mr. West for her proficiency in that respect, and was especially skilful in the delineation of the human profile.

Our author himself had but just given the final touch to his autobiography, when he, too, was summoned to the other world. He died, at the age of seventy-five, on the 28th of August, 1859, two years after his wife's departure. "So gentle," says his son, "was the final approach, that he scarcely recognized it till the very last, and then it came without terrors." His health had been failing gradually for some years;

and so his friends were surprised neither by the approach nor by the calmness of his death. He had employed his last hours in assisting in the preparation of the "Shelley Memorials," * designed to vindicate and to celebrate the character of his early and best beloved friend. His memory, his clear, quick mind, his kindly temper, his love of humor, his attachment to books, remained to the last day of his life. Sickness, which had enfeebled his body, had fortunately spared to him the use of those faculties which to him were peculiarly precious. He had lived to see the political reform of which he had been an earnest advocate gradually on the ascendant; he had survived most of his contemporaries; he had attained a place among the celebrated writers of his day. These few words of his son show that to the last he retained an interest in the world without, and that his affectionate nature was alive almost in death: "His failing breath was used to express his sense of the inexhaustible kindness he had received from the family who had been so unexpectedly made his nurses; to draw from one of his sons, by minute, eager, and searching questions, all that he could learn about the latest vicissitudes and growing hopes of Italy; to ask the friends and children around him for news of those whom he loved; and to send love and messages to the absent who loved him."

* Edited by Mrs. Shelley

In personal appearance, Leigh Hunt was tall and straight, while his eyes were black and very brilliant. His hair, early in life, was dark, but as he grew older, changed to pure white. His complexion was dark. His face was intellectual, and withal indicated by its genial expression that he had a great heart. He had to a large degree that power of attracting the affection of others by a winning sympathy and a cordial manner, which he so enthusiastically attributes to his friend Charles Lamb. He was ever thinking, talking, and writing of his friends, always anxious to please them, and his chief enjoyment seems to have been in their companionship. The three salient traits that appear in his works and in his record of himself are amiableness, self-esteem, and a sprightly and almost romantic imagination. To the first he owed his chief happiness in life ; the second enabled him to keep up a stout heart against disappointment ; the third gave him the power and the will so to write that he has cheered many a weary soul, and filled many a winter evening with entertainment and instruction. His philosophy of life was, to look on the best phase of every subject and circumstance, never to despair, to meet rebuffs with a cheerful countenance, and to endure misfortune with fortitude, hoping for and living in a better time to come. In this way he survived political persecution and critical denunciation, bore sickness with patience, was melancholy without

being misanthropic, was cheerful in the midst of poverty, made a happy home in a prison, and finally died, at a good old age, contented, calm, and looking back with complacency on a varied, but on the whole successful career.

IX.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE was descended from a house which traces its origin back for many centuries. The name of the family was Clerel; but, being of gentle blood, they took their present surname of Tocqueville, which is derived from the ancient manor on which they have dwelt for many generations. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century, they lived at Rampan, a small village near St. Lo, whence they were formerly known as the Clerels de Rampan. The ancestry of Alexis, under this name, occupied an honorable, and often an eminent, rank among their contemporaries. They appear to have been actively engaged in political and military events, and to have established a family reputation which has been worthily sustained to the present day. They were a chivalric and spirited race, and were distinguished for that lofty sense of honor which especially marked the higher orders of French society in former times. The courtesy, energy, and independence of the ancient noblesse are easily discernible in the character of

the scion of the house of Clerel of whose life we write.

During the seventeenth century, the Clerels removed to a small settlement on the coast of Normandy, named Tocqueville, possibly from Toki, an ancient chief in those parts. Here the heirs of the family have resided down to the present time, spending their lives in the dignity and ease of landed gentlemen, indulging in rural sports, and assuming honorable responsibilities, looked up to with respect by their humbler neighbors, and occasionally emerging to take a distinguished part in political and military movements. The father of Alexis was heir of the manor, and early came into possession of his patrimony. During the brief and delusive lull, which, in 1793, intervened between the execution of Louis the Sixteenth and the gloomy tyranny of the Jacobins, he married Mademoiselle de Rosambo, a granddaughter of the celebrated Malesherbes. That heroic old loyalist, after defending the king whom he loved, before the insurgent Convention, at the peril of his life, had retired in despair to mourn the death of his sovereign, and to deplore the ruin of his country. It was a sad time in which to celebrate a marriage, and the festivities were brief and unostentatious. The felicities of the honeymoon were soon dissipated by the horrors which attended the nation without a ruler; for within a year after the celebration of the nuptials,

the violence of the revolutionists, which everywhere sought the destruction of the ancient aristocracy, descended upon their family ; and the venerable statesman, after witnessing the execution of his daughter, granddaughter, and her husband, Châteaubriand, himself paid the penalty of his devotion to royalty upon the scaffold. Even the youthful count and his bride were seized and imprisoned for the pretended crimes of her ancestors, and would have shared a like fate, had not the fall of Robespierre restored them to freedom. They hastened from the Conciergerie to Tocqueville, where they found that their villa had happily escaped anarchical fury ; and here they resided in seclusion for many years.

Alexis was born at Paris, on the 29th of July, 1805, and was the third son. Although his father was an aristocrat, and in good circumstances, his early education does not appear to have been well cared for. But a love of books was natural to him ; and so assiduously did he devote himself to study, when his mind was sufficiently ripe to appreciate the value of knowledge, that he succeeded in entering the college of Metz about 1820 ; and in 1822 he was awarded the first prize in rhetorical composition. All his tastes led him to desire active, and at the same time intellectual pursuits ; and he chose the law for his profession. He was soon appointed *juge auditeur* of Versailles, where his father was prefect. He

had, in the year before his appointment, made a tour of Italy and Sicily in company with his brother Edward. The great subjects which subsequently engrossed his thoughts appear to have agitated him thus early in his career. Instead of dwelling upon the stately palaces and the renowned temples, the relics of ancient art and the marvels of modern skill, he investigated the manners of the people, their political, moral, and religious tendencies, their estimation of and capacity for government, and the comparative intelligence and virtue of ancient and modern Italy. He was already gathering that rich fund of experience, and attaining that high capacity for observation, which years afterwards enabled him to step, with one effort, into the first rank of political philosophers. His early impressions, derived from a mother who had witnessed the tragical desolation of her family, and who was in the midst of the terrible scenes enacted by the revolutionists, had made him an earnest and thoughtful student of the causes and influence of those stirring events. He was fired with the contemplation of the wrongs suffered by his kindred and his countrymen, which stimulated him to attempt the interpretation of the great enigma of the eighteenth century. He had learned from the lips of surviving witnesses the contempt of order, the desecration of religion, the fierce Vandalism, and the prostitution of the name of liberty, which composed

the salient features of Jacobin ascendancy. He had himself experienced the degradation of the higher orders, and the subversion of the established *status* of society; he saw that the dangers of pure democracy counterbalanced, among a mercurial and restless race like the French, the evils of monarchy; and yet he was forced to admit that liberty and progress were incompatible with the bigoted government of Charles the Tenth. Hence we find him, at the early age of nineteen, considering the political condition of the countries through which he travelled, and deducing inferences applicable to France. Having entered upon his magisterial duties in 1827, he brought to their discharge vigilance and acuteness, and soon achieved eminence in his department. But the drudgery of the bench failed to satisfy the craving of his restless mind. As a relief to the tedious routine of his office, he turned aside with De Beaumont, his colleague and friend, to the congenial study of history. The enthusiasm with which he pursued his favorite researches, the sagacity with which he unravelled causes and effects from the dry materials of facts and dates, and the discernment with which he deduced general principles from the habits and opinions of different ages, and by comparing different nations, predicted, when he had scarcely attained his majority, the certainty of future triumphs.

Meanwhile, the political events of 1827-8 por-

tended unusual convulsions. The popular party began to manifest symptoms of resistance to the established order. The Legitimists, encouraged by a monarch who, to a weak and capricious intellect, added a stubborn indifference to the welfare of his people, and who did not hesitate to assert his belief in the divine right of the crown, resisted with firmness the appeals for reform which came up to Paris from every part of the nation. Literary controversy and theoretical speculation were fomenting discontent throughout the land. Charles, remembering that his prototype and namesake of England had fallen by yielding, vainly imagined that he could sustain himself by resisting. De Tocqueville, who had studied history differently, and, as subsequent events proved, far more sagaciously, looked upon the course of the king with misgiving, and predicted his inevitable downfall when Polignac became first minister.

The young philosopher, nevertheless, viewed with dread the approach of another revolution. He saw, on one side, the intelligence, the religion, the moral and intellectual element of France; on the other, an irresponsible and anarchical power, composed of an ignorant and unreasoning mass. While the monarchy was sustained by the virtue, the revolution was sustained by the iniquity and vice, of the nation. If the monarchy successfully resisted its antagonists, and

built its permanence on the oppression of the people, he could see no hope of preserving the cause of constitutional liberty. If another revolution should prevail over the established order, demolishing with a sudden stroke the *status* which had scarcely recovered from the shock of 1789, followed by a usurpation of fanatics and atheists, with all the disastrous results of anarchy, there seemed but little better prospect of the restoration of tranquillity. If he had been a selfish man, his interest would have led him to support the crown. His father had been created a peer of France by Louis the Eighteenth. He belonged to the old noblesse, which, after the vicissitudes of 1789 and the empire, had been restored with the Bourbon dynasty. Most of the influence he then possessed was owing to his high birth and connections. His family had been prominent among the victims of Robespierre. He was just now entering a career which promised the richest rewards of genius. But with all these influences, he could not support a dynasty which prided itself on its opposition to the popular demand, which was gradually undermining the remnants of liberty bequeathed by the first revolution, and which feared innovation as the instrument of its destruction.

The revolution came : it was accomplished without blood ; the king was driven from the capital, and the Duc d'Orleans, his cousin, was raised to the throne.

De Tocqueville was neutral in the contest. He now, with great reluctance, took the oath prescribed by the new government, in the faint hope that a change for the better had been made, and that the new king would be forced to govern constitutionally, as a means of safety. He taught himself to bear what could not be remedied, yet did not approve what his conscience condemned. He rather acquiesced in than supported the revolution of 1830; and he did so with a hesitation which indicated that, while principle remained unshaken, necessity compelled a course which his convictions reprobated.

In 1831, M. de Beaumont, his colleague in the magistracy, was removed from that position by the government; and De Tocqueville, deprived of his presence and counsel, immediately resigned his own office, and willingly retired from the annoyances of the bench. He was gratified to obtain a commission from the interior department, jointly with De Beaumont, to proceed to the United States for the purpose of viewing the penitentiary system. This was only the means, however, to a noble end which he had proposed to himself. He wished to see the only country in the world in which democracy had become reconciled to order and stability; in which popular education was the regulator of the political system; in which the highest degree of freedom had been made compatible with an effective police, a prompt admin-

istration of justice, and a competent form of government. It was his ambition to view our institutions as a Frenchman, yearning to find the great remedy which should cure what was beginning to be the chronic distemper of his country. It was necessary, in order to comprehend our national fabric, to come among us, to trace back every effect to its cause, to view, if possible, the operation of the system with American prejudices, and to consider with a philosophic eye "the march of ideas and feelings." While he devoted much labor to the official enterprise which he had undertaken, his main work was the study of American liberty; and he studied it not more as a philosopher, or as a theorist, than as a *patriot*. "America," he says, "was only the frame; my picture was Democracy."

He devoted two years, on his return, to the composition of the work which brought him, by a marvellous transition, from obscurity to renown. He had not reached his thirtieth year when "Democracy in America" appeared. It was at once hailed as the result of a great mind. No European had before comprehended American liberty. No philosopher had before penetrated so far into the problem of democracy. In that work were exhibited, with a strength worthy of Johnson, and an accuracy which Parr might have envied, the virtues and the deficiencies of popular power. The picture was not more

excellent for the brilliancy of its coloring and the beauty of its arrangement, than for the symmetry of its whole, and the vividness of every part. So profound, and yet so graceful, a treatise on government has not been produced in the present century, or perhaps in any century. Frenchmen were proud that their young countryman should distance, in one of the most difficult of sciences, the ancient authorities of other nations. Englishmen were glad to see a work appear which tended to confirm a constitution sustained by an equipoise between crown and people. Americans venerated the man who, alone of all foreigners that had crossed the Atlantic, fully understood a system so much reviled in the old world, and who had accurately discerned the merits and faults of a republican government. The book was sold with wonderful rapidity, and was translated into many languages. No library was considered as complete without it. Conservatives found in its pages arguments enforcing the danger of mob governments. Reformers quoted it in derogation of regal authority, and in favor of extending popular suffrage. His aim was, however, to represent to the advocates of ideal democracy, and the advocates of established precedent, the errors in both views; to show that democracy without intelligence, morality, and religion, is despotism; that democracy reconciled to "respect for property, deference for rights, safety

to freedom, and reverence to religion," is composed of noble elements; and that the choice is inevitable between anarchical democracy and intelligent democracy. "Many people," he says to Stoffels, "of opposite opinions, are pleased with it, not because they understand it, but because they find in my book, considered on one side only, certain arguments favorable to their own passion of the moment." Triumphant as was the early success of "Democracy in America," as years of experience and public disorder have passed, it has become more and more authoritative; and the prophetic wisdom, the profound logic, and the strict accuracy which dignify every page, have been tested and confirmed by subsequent events. Similar subjects have been discussed by men of genius on both sides of the Atlantic; but the greater part are speculatists, deriving their materials from the study of other works and the observations of other persons. They have erected formidable theories, abounding indeed in erudition and acuteness, yet lacking the test of actual experience. M. de Tocqueville lived in the events, and observed in person the facts, from which he produced the elements of his philosophy. Superadded to an extraordinary capacity for speculation, he possessed a prolific experience, with which to exemplify and enforce his doctrines.

After enjoying a triumph in his own country, which

must not only have gratified his pride, but also stimulated his hopes of reform, he visited England in 1835. There he met with a reception, from the first noblemen and writers of the age, of which he was justly proud. The elegant and courteous Lansdowne, the polished Holland, the vivacious Macaulay, and the learned Grote, welcomed to their country one who combined grace and dignity of manner, nobility of birth, and brilliant colloquial power with a strength of intellect such as few Frenchmen have exhibited in any age.

In the same year he married an English lady, Miss Mary Mottley, to whom he had been several years attached, and who, though she brought him no fortune, seems to have appreciated his temperament and sympathized with his tastes. He constantly spoke of her with affection, and never took a step without resorting to her for advice. In 1836 the Academy of France, proud to acknowledge the justness of his eminence, awarded a prize of eight thousand francs to his work on America. The following year found him the possessor, by a family agreement, of the ancient manor of Tocqueville. The revolution of 1830 had substituted a representative government for a rigid monarchy. This change brought with it a corresponding change in the position of literary men. Little pains had been taken by the Bourbons to encourage this class; much less were

they resorted to as counsellors of the crown. The sagacious Louis Philippe saw the importance with which they were regarded by intelligent men; and the result was, that poets and historians, editors and astronomers, became ministers of police and ministers of foreign affairs. De Tocqueville, who had hitherto been known as a speculative politician, now aspired to be a practical politician. He saw the class in which he had ranked himself accepting seals of office, offering themselves for the Chamber, and representing France at foreign courts. He was now a feudal proprietor; and this advantage, combined with his literary eminence, encouraged him to enter the troubled arena. At the election of 1837, therefore, he presented himself to the arrondissement of Valoques as a candidate for the Chamber. His kinsman, Count Molé, then at the head of the government, offered to support him with all the influence of the ministry, and without his knowledge took measures to carry the election in his favor. But De Tocqueville, with a lofty spirit seldom seen in candidates for office, manfully rejected the aid thus offered; and, the cry of "No nobles!" having been raised against him, he was defeated. Liberal as were his ideas on government, he could not induce the bigoted Norman peasantry to look beyond his birth, to his character and merit.

He now devoted himself to cultivating the esteem

of his neighbors, to improving the surroundings of his villa, to the pleasing duties of hospitality, and to the continuation of the great work, the published portions of which had so abundantly rewarded him. In 1838 the Academy of Moral and Political Science did itself honor, and him justice, by enrolling his name as one of its members. The biennial election again approached in 1839, when, so successful had he been in disabusing the district of prejudices against him, and in endearing himself to its people by the simple courtesy of his manners, he was elected by a large majority to the highest legislative position in France. He continued to represent Valoques in the Chamber of Deputies from 1839 to the breaking up of thrones and legislatures in 1848.

He found, upon taking his seat, that the Chamber was divided into three distinct parties — the ministerial party, the dynastic opposition, and the republican opposition. At the head of the former were M. Guizot and M. Molé, and they supported the royal family then in power. The dynastic opposition were under the lead of Thiers and Odillon Barrot. They were acquiescent in the present establishment, but opposed to the particular measures of the ministry then in place. The republicans were not only opposed to the present dynasty, but to all dynasties, and were zealous disciples of the old revolutionists. The freedom of the press had never been greater

than it was at this time ; consequently parties of all shades waged incessant warfare, and the fiercest fanatics did not hesitate to avow their extreme doctrines in the forum and through the press. De Tocqueville, having before his eyes the example of England, — that example to which he ever tried to induce France to approximate, — and from a fear that either the crown or the republicans might acquire too much power, determined to throw his influence into the balancing party, and enrolled himself under the leadership of Thiers and Barrot. While, on the whole, he considered it essential to the liberties of France to support the Orleanists at the Tuileries, he thought that a dynastic opposition would operate to restrain while it sustained, and, keeping the republicans in a hopeless minority, to force the king to a constitutional reign. While he continued deputy, he was intrusted with various responsible duties, among others with that of reporting, in 1839, on the abolition of colonial slavery ; in 1840, on prison reform ; and in 1846, on African colonization. In 1840 he issued the last two volumes of "Democracy in America," which were received with as great approbation as had greeted the former issue ; and in the following year he had the gratification of being elected a member of the Academy of France. As a relaxation from the severe duties of the Chamber, he travelled, in 1841, and again in 1845, through Algeria.

His friends had expected, when he was returned to the legislature, that he would rise at once to the front ranks of his party. But those expectations were, in a measure, disappointed. He not only did not become a leader, he did not become even prominent in the debates of the Chamber. The eloquence which had flowed so easily from his pen now failed him, as he stood upon his feet and attempted to harangue the dignified deputies of France. It was not surprising, however, that one who had been a great writer did not succeed as a speaker. He had memorable precedents, to which he might point, to excuse his failure. Such men as Addison, Johnson, Jefferson, and Scott, all political writers of the first ability, had entirely failed when called upon to speak in public. His temper, which was impetuous to a fault, his care to avoid commonplaces, his deep thought, the delicacy of his frame, and the entirely novel position in which he found himself, added to a weak voice, were adequate reasons for his deficiency as an orator. Notwithstanding, however, that his labors could not be of service to his cause in forensic discussion, the deliberate cast of his mind produced an influence on his colleagues far from contemptible. In private discussions with his political friends, he pointed out to them, with rare acuteness, the dangers which beset the monarchy and liberty. To him they resorted when an important vote was to be decided, or an

important measure introduced; and although, unhappily for them and for France, they did not always follow his counsel, they listened to it with attention and respect.

The breach between the king's friends, headed by Guizot on the one side, and the dynastic and the revolutionary opposition, now apparently united, on the other, was continually widening from 1840 to the time of the king's downfall. Odillon Barrot hoped that, by uniting with the radicals, and thereby outvoting the ministry, he might be able to limit, without destroying, the royal prerogative. He vainly thought that, after concessions had been forced by the aid of his allies, he might easily abandon them, and, supported by the nation, accede to power without detriment to the monarchy. The issue which he made with the ministry was reform in the court and in elections. The revolutionists, led by Ledru-Rollin, Marrast, Arago, and Louis Blanc, now entered upon the rapid execution of the projects which had long busied their fevered brains, and caught at the first opportunity of their fulfilment. Carrying along with them their unwilling allies, they began to incite the nation to a desperate resistance, and to preach the old doctrines of equality and liberty to the ignorant and disaffected. The government, looking with natural dread upon the disturbances thus created, forbade the holding of public meetings. Fertile in expedient

and fearless in action, the agitators contrived that banquets should be held throughout France; and at these assemblages they harangued with redoubled violence and fury. Barrot and Thiers began to tremble at the excesses which their rashness had brought into existence. But it was too late. They could break down the barrier, but they could not again rear it to oppose the impetuous flood. The time had come when the weaker element of conservatism in the coalition was stifled in the desperate measures of the levellers.

De Tocqueville saw the approach of the tempest months before it burst upon the country. In January he addressed the Chamber in a prophetic warning, which amazed the deputies. After pointing to the disturbances which agitated the nation, and the causes of those disturbances, he said, "We are slumbering on a volcano: I am certain of it." Events soon occurred which stamped him as a true prophet. A grand national banquet was announced to take place in Paris. The insurrectionists were to erect their standards of rebellion under the very shadow of the Tuileries. Barrot attempted to compromise; Rollin and Blanc were inexorable. Guizot offered to resign, and Barrot was intrusted with a brief interval of power. But the outbreak was ripe, and revolution again triumphed over monarch, ministers, and legislators. The king, with the royal family, fled through

his garden, as the mob were thundering at the portals of the palace. France was once more without a ruler. And now came in all that race of hypocrites who exercised power under the visor of liberty, — exalting the populace of Paris over the citizens of France, — bent on abolishing royalty, debasing the nobility, equalizing all ranks, and levelling property and power to a common grade. Ledru-Rollin, at the head of a band of rioters, overawed and expelled the deputies, and read a list of the provisional government, including with himself the wildest zealots of his faction, from Lamartine to Albert the laborer. This administration, self-created, and sustained only by the dregs of Paris, repaired to the headquarters of the government, and began to shape their policy by the promulgation of the Utopian systems, the advocacy of which had attached to them the ignorant and deluded laboring classes of the capital.

De Tocqueville clearly discerned the dangers of the nation, and instantly declared that its only safety was in the prompt erection of a constitutional republic. He considered the evils of political frenzy less dangerous than the ignorance of the people "as to the real conditions of production and social prosperity." A continuation of the social despotism which now held possession of the sinews of government must, he saw, eventually lead the nation again to imperial rule, as it had done before in 1789. An election for

a constituent Assembly was ordered; and on the 4th of May, De Tocqueville was returned to it by his neighborhood of La Manche. To the surprise and chagrin of the provisional government, this body contained a large majority of conservative and moderate men. The revolutionists found themselves in a hopeless minority. De Tocqueville, with other leaders of the advocates of order and system, now earnestly strove to establish a republic. The constituent Assembly, completely united, and determined to resist Parisian tyranny, promptly appointed a committee to frame a constitution with a republican form. Upon this committee De Tocqueville was placed, and became a leading member. But the chaotic elements into which society had been broken were not yet reduced to harmony; and the republic, unsupported by the approval of the nation, only prepared the way for a catastrophe which De Tocqueville had been anxious to avert by its means. The election of president resulted in the choice of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a man who, as De Tocqueville himself said, "believes in his own hereditary right in the crown as firmly as Charles the Tenth himself." De Tocqueville had voted for General Cavaignac, the opposing candidate, because he dreaded the accession of a Bonaparte, and looked with especial distrust upon the character of the prince who now solicited popular support.

Soon after his instalment into office, Napoleon requested an interview with De Tocqueville, and endeavored, by treating him with marked civility, to persuade him into the adoption of his own views. But the shrewd statesman penetrated the design of the president, and refused to become a passive tool for the erection of despotism over the heads of the people. The conservatives, although disheartened at the evident tendencies of the new powers, resolved to make one more effort for a constitutional system. They hoped that, by persuading the president to adopt the principle of free parliaments and responsible ministries, he might be induced to forego the effort to obtain absolute power. With this laudable view, Odillon Barrot, in June, 1849, undertook the functions of prime minister. Eminent conservatives were intrusted with the ministerial seals. De Tocqueville, much to Barrot's honor, received and accepted the portfolio of the foreign office. The people began to see the return of peace and order.

The foreign secretary found that he had assumed, with his new office, duties of unusual magnitude. Besides the deliberations which devolved upon him as a member of the cabinet council, which, at this early stage of affairs, were of the utmost importance, he was obliged to turn his attention to the settlement of the Roman question, and also of the controversy regarding the Hungarian refugees who were claimed

from Turkey by Russia and Austria. To reconcile other nations to the occupation of the Eternal City by French troops, to disabuse foreign courts of the idea that this occupation was for conquest, and not for protection, and to interfere between three powerful courts in a question of the greatest delicacy and difficulty, required an active mind and a determined purpose. Of these tasks he acquitted himself with high credit. His despatches are perspicuous, energetic, and sagacious. In the retirement of his study he could easily wield a power which had been denied him in the Chamber. His knowledge of passing events, and the attention with which he had contemplated the history of nations, made him the master of his subject. The candor with which he negotiated with foreign powers commanded their respect and elicited their confidence. The moderation of his views, and the foresight which had marked his career, called forth a reliance on his efficiency in the execution of his trust, both from his colleagues and from the people. His experience in office, however, was brief; for it soon became apparent that Napoleon was determined to govern without the restraint of a responsible ministry. Finding that every attempt to legitimize his projected measures was vain, the Barrot ministry retired from power in October, 1849 — the technical issue being in regard to the Roman expedition. By their downfall the last hopes of preserving constitutional stability were crushed.

De Tocqueville, desponding, and shattered in health, now left France for Italy, and spent the winter at Sorrento, where he employed himself in recovering physical strength, observing from a distance the course of events, and writing the early portions of a work which he had long contemplated, on the causes of the first revolution. On his return to France, he found the Assembly and the press agitated by discussions relative to a revision of the constitution of 1848. The period designated for the election of president approached. The incumbent was bent on retaining his power; and whether it should be retained by a *coup-d'état*, or by abolishing the restriction in the constitution which prohibited his reelection, it was for the Assembly to determine. Resistance by that body to the proposed revision would precipitate the nation into certain despotism. Compliance made such a result a question of time. De Tocqueville saw that the choice was between faint hope and no hope. Without hesitation he advocated a revision, and he was himself intrusted in committee with framing a report favorable to that measure. Feeble as the chance was of preserving the republic, he saw that to make the acts of the president constitutional was the only chance. His description of the constitution of 1848, in his report, is drawn with so skilful a hand, that we cannot refrain from presenting it to our readers:—

“ A single Chamber exclusively entitled to make laws, a single man exclusively entitled to preside over the application of all laws, and the direction of all public affairs, each of them elected directly by universal suffrage; the Assembly omnipotent within the limits of the constitution; the president required, within those limits, to obey the Assembly, but wielding, from the nature of his election, a moral force which makes his submission uneasy, and must suggest to him resistance, and possessed of all the prerogatives which belong to an executive in a country in which the central administration, everywhere active and everywhere powerful, has been created by monarchs and for the purposes of monarchy, — these two great powers, equal as to their origin, unequal as to their rights, condemned by law to coerce one another, invited by law to mutual suspicion, mutual jealousy, and mutual contest, yet forced to live in close embrace, in an eternal *tête-à-tête*, without a third power, or even an umpire to mediate and restrain them, — these are not conditions under which a government can be regular or strong.”

The efforts of the constitutionalists proved of no avail. The inordinate ambition of Napoleon now only awaited an opportunity to seize the absolute control over the nation. De Tocqueville, who had before predicted both of the revolutions, foresaw the impending blow to the Assembly. He was seated

among his colleagues when the *coup d'état* took place. On the morning of the 2d of December, the president took possession, by military force, of all the government offices. An armed troop of soldiery came to the Assembly, and De Tocqueville, in company with two hundred of the *élite* of France, was marched to the Quai d'Orsay, and thence conveyed to Vincennes. Napoleon now rapidly consolidated the empire. A constrained ballot afforded a pretence for his measures. The Assembly was abolished, the press fettered, Lamartine and Hugo exiled, a standing army established, and every precaution taken to secure a permanent despotism. When the plans of the emperor had been reduced to system, the imprisoned legislators were released.

This tyrannical seizure and confinement was the last scene in the political life of M. de Tocqueville. The result to which he had looked forward with dismay had now followed from the revolution of 1848. The people of France, wearied with the continual turmoil of anarchy, and grown apathetic in the license which had long prevailed, had at last quietly and slavishly submitted their necks to the yoke of the oppressor. The day in which patriots could exert themselves was passed. All that remained for him now was to retire to his country-seat, to banish politics from his thoughts, to devote his time to the quiet walks of literature and agricul-

ture, and to alleviate the condition and augment the happiness of those humble neighbors who had been so long faithful to him. He continued the execution of his work on the revolution of 1789 as rapidly as his frail health would permit, and published the first part of it in 1856. The rest was never finished. For purposes of study he visited St. Cyr in 1854, and Germany in 1855. He also in 1857 visited England for the last time, where he was received with distinguished consideration, and whence a government vessel was specially commissioned to reconvey him to Normandy. He devoted himself with zest to agriculture, for which, in the restlessness of his early days, he had had a dislike. Now, after an active and stormy life, his mind had become calm, and his love of nature contributed to give a relish to rural occupations. Although he had retired from public service, he never ceased to practise the maxim which we find in his letters — "There is only one great object in this world which deserves our efforts, and that is the good of mankind." He considered life as of but little worth, except as it is made valuable by being employed in doing one's duty, and serving men, and in "taking one's fit place among them." His charity was free and liberal, his advice never refused, when solicited; his kindness and affability were constant, his interest in the prosperity of others enthusiastic. Thus usefully and happily were his last years

passed ; and as he had spent a laborious life in improving public sentiment, exalting religious and educational influences, and striving to secure to his countrymen an equipoise of liberty and stability, the evening of his sojourn upon earth was devoted to the alleviation of individual distress, and the exercise of an active benevolence.

The delicate body, which had sustained so many inroads upon its strength, now began to yield to disease. In June, 1858, he broke a blood-vessel — an event which, although at the time it was not regarded as fatal, accelerated the final catastrophe. The bleak shores of Normandy were ill suited to an invalid afflicted with pulmonary weakness, and he repaired to Cannes, in the south of France, buoyed up with the hope that the softer air and more equable climate of that region might restore him to vigor. There, although confined most of the time to his villa, he continued those studies which had mainly contributed to his happiness through life, and had delightful communion with the eminent persons who resided near him. Lord Brougham and Chevalier Bunsen contributed to while away many weary hours by their considerate attentions to the dying statesman. After weeks of protracted suffering, aggravated by the illness of his wife, but sustained with patience by a meek and cheerful spirit, he passed away, with tranquillity and in the complete exercise of his facul-

ties, surrounded by his best beloved friends, on the 16th of April, 1859. Although till within a few days of his departure he had never ceased to look forward to a resumption of his labors, the humility with which he acquiesced in the solemn disappointment, and the fervent piety with which he confided in his Saviour, made a lasting impression upon those who witnessed that peaceful death scene. At his own request, his mortal remains were laid in the rural churchyard, near the ancient manor on which he had dwelt so long, and among the people he loved so well. The burial service was performed in the humble parish church, and the mourning peasantry attended with one accord the last sad tribute to their illustrious friend. A plain wooden cross marks the place of his interment. He died childless.

We have reviewed the life of one whose name, known wherever civilization has given a zest to political philosophy, is held in peculiar respect on this side of the Atlantic. Before his day, little was known on the continent of the structure of our government, and its application of republican principles. To him we owe lasting gratitude for having led his age to an intelligent contemplation of our system, and for setting in a just light before the world the benefits and evils of democratic policy. It is not, however, to be inferred, because he devoted so much time and labor to the study of the principles of democ-

racy, that he was an advocate of that form of government. He always regarded the constitutional monarchy of England as the polity which combined in the greatest perfection a just freedom for the subject with due power in the executive. He believed the tendencies of the age in which he lived to be toward the unlimited supremacy of the popular element; but he was persuaded of what events repeatedly verified, that the character of the French was not harmonious with the idea of unrestrained popular power. He aptly perceived that the causes which tended to strengthen republicanism in America could never so operate in his own country. For that reason he concluded that, while democracy in America was freedom, democracy in France was despotism. He wished to see in France a strong central government, not distracted by a landed aristocracy, and not interfering beyond its proper sphere; control over municipal matters given to municipal authorities; generous extension of political rights; broad tolerance of individual action. But such an establishment, he readily perceived, must be the work of time; revolution could not effect it; a sudden change of administration or policy could not produce it; it must be ingrafted by gradual and cautious innovations, the more potent because the less perceptible. In the revolutions of which he had been a witness, he saw that all the elements of intelligence, morality, re-

ligion, and learning had been conservative ; while the depravity of the nation, the wild, atheistic, visionary fanatics, composed the elements of which the reforming spirit was made up. He knew that the former class of men were indispensable auxiliaries to the gradual change he was desirous of producing, and hence looked with great sorrow upon the convulsions which shook France from time to time. From these opinions we are enabled to see why he was never a strong party man. Looking beyond the ephemeral principles which controlled the policy of factions, he could not bring himself to sympathize heartily with either extreme. Perceiving the salutary influence of a systematic opposition in England, he ranged himself with Barrot and Thiers, rather to maintain an equipoise than because his opinions sympathized with those of the statesmen with whom he acted.

If we consider his social character, we find that the gravity of the philosopher did not intrude upon his private relations ; for in the companionship of those he loved, he both conversed freely and listened with respectful attention to others. He was cheerful and unassuming, readily pleased, and always anxious to please. The dignity of his vocations did not preclude him from the good will of the humble. His candor rather elicited esteem than provoked irritation, and his piety, always constant and sometimes glowing, was yet not austere, but was indulgent of those pleas-

ures which morality permits. The same vigor and brilliancy which mark his writings shone forth in his conversation, which instructed while it entertained, and engaged both mind and heart by its lofty and yet sympathetic tone. Few men have been so remarkable as he for colloquial power; and, although he did not exhibit the rich fund of thought and fancy in which his mind abounded except to his friends, the renown of his conversational gifts almost equals that of his published works. His complaisance disarmed the surliest rival, yet his pride scorned a slavish submission to any. Possessing faculties of understanding naturally quick, he made them preëminent by study, and still more by observation and reflection. So vigorous was his spirit, that it rose in rebellion against the sedentary labors of his younger days. He continually longed for bodily or mental excitement, and on one occasion he wrote to a near friend, "The desire for strong emotions becomes irresistible, and my mind preys upon itself if it is not satisfied." Throughout his early correspondence the same restless disposition is discernible. He was continually complaining of want of excitement, and yearning for a life of intense activity. He thought that "life has no period of rest; man is a traveller towards a colder and colder region, and the higher his latitude, the faster ought to be his walk." Although lapse of years and a large harvest of experience cooled his fervid tem-

per, he continued through life to labor with energy and intensity. Graceful in his manners, firm in opinion, susceptible in feeling, quick and true in judgment, versatile in accomplishments, he was a delightful companion, a wise counsellor, a faithful friend, and an affectionate son, brother, and husband.

He fulfilled his moral and religious duties with promptness and zeal. Appreciating the inestimable value of order, he preserved complete method in all his transactions. While he has instructed the world by the depth and accuracy of his researches in political science, he has also left an enviable reputation for many exalted virtues, which appear to have adorned his career from his first entrance upon the duties of life.

His mind was continually directed to a specific object; he never indulged in that theoretical speculation which either rejects facts or is incapable of practical application. He always looked forward to a direct result. Rejecting all assistance from the perusal of other writers, and disdaining to lay the basis of his own productions on materials derived from libraries, he endeavored to strike out on untrodden paths, which, being discovered by actual observation and experience, might lead directly to the consequences sought. He did not regard with favor the intricate disputes of mental science, in which he

took no pains to be well versed. His mind being morbidly restless, he was absorbed in harassing thought, mingled with doubt, despondency, and gloom. But in none of his dark moods did a doubt arise as to the truth of religion.

His oratory towards the close of his parliamentary career was serious, and often brilliant. He spoke with composure, and yet with feeling, when he addressed the Chamber. Careless about arranging his thoughts, so that they might be comprehended, he used few words, and avoided repetition and expansion. He never could have made a popular orator, for he had not the faculty of so combining commonplace with thought that his audience could sympathize with what he was saying. At the same time, his weak voice and feeble constitution were perpetual restraints upon his oratory.

He seems to have far transcended the French standard of character in the soberness and depth of his speculations, and in his insight into the mysteries of political science. But his restlessness, his warm temper, his impetuous vehemence, and his affability, mark him as a true Frenchman. When we look upon him as the philosopher, witnessing, not without emotion, indeed, but calmly and thoughtfully, the great convulsions through which his age was passing, noticing the operation of every cause and the influence of every result, treasuring up the painful

experience thus acquired for the future service of the nation, and searching, while the facts were new, for some remedy for the disorder, it must be confessed that few Frenchmen have exhibited to the world such rare proofs of judgment, reflection, and sagacity.

X.

THE CARDINAL-KINGS.

SHAKSPEARE has kept alive the memory of Cardinal Wolsey by one of his finest delineations. Cardinal Richelieu still commands the admiration of men by reason of Bulwer's masterpiece. It is not surprising that these two should have been selected as heroes of the drama, for no men have filled a larger space in the romance of history. There is much to study and much to amuse in the character of each; much to impress and startle in the story of their careers; much to surprise in the narrative of the ascent by which both reached the summit of earthly grandeur. They were both a "power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself." They both derived their original advancement from the church. Each accomplished many great benefits for his country. Each fulfilled a lofty destiny.

Wolsey and Richelieu, indeed, were representatives of the two sources whence the church of Rome derived her intellectual strength, and which gave her a hold upon earthly powers. From the two extremes of

society, almost invariably, came the men who propped up the spiritual authority. They either proceeded from the meanest plebeians or from the haughtiest aristocrats. Popes were chosen from the fishermen on the sea shore, or from the Borgias of Venice and the Medicis of Florence. Cardinals might be moulded from bandits or from princes.

Wolsey was the son of a butcher; Richelieu was the heir of one of the noblest families in France. Wolsey rose to be the first subject in England by the sole effort of his will, and by the sole merit of his abilities; Richelieu was ushered into public life by a pedigree and a host of rich relations. The church advanced Wolsey only because Wolsey's talents were useful; she advanced Richelieu, at first, because he brought family influence and a good understanding to her aid. These princes of the church, these priestly statesmen, did wonderful things, each in his own age. England in the sixteenth century was clearly marked by the strong individuality of Wolsey's genius. France in the seventeenth century became under Richelieu the model of an absolute power.

There were but few qualities in common between these remarkable men. They were both virtually sovereigns; neither was satisfied with political dominion, but both aspired to the papal throne. Both possessed great ambition, wills of iron, craft, duplicity,

intellectual breadth, corruptness of heart, and courage. Both were preëminent as statesmen, both were liberal patrons of literature, both were attentive students of human nature. Here the resemblance ceases ; and, by sketching the career and character of each, it will be seen what opposite motives actuated them, and how differently they acquired, held, and used the power to which they attained. Their geniuses were different, their origins were different, and the influences with which their nationalities surrounded them were as different as the Celt is from the Saxon.

Cardinal Wolsey, as we have said, rose from the lowest grade of the English community. He early displayed abilities inconsistent with his station, and his father, who had become well off in the exercise of his vocation, sent him to the University of Oxford. Here he gained distinction as a scholar ; and after graduation, the Marquess of Dorset made him tutor to his sons, and took him under his patronage. He went into the church, and was made rector of a country parish, which belonged to the marquess. Wolsey's ambitious spirit soon after showed itself ; for he aspired, with success, to the place of chaplain in the king's household. Once there, he had an ample field wherein to exert his talents of insinuation, and made haste to cultivate it. Henry the Seventh was then reigning, but was soon to die ; the young prince

would ere long ascend the throne. The cunning and watchful nature of Wolsey was not long in perceiving the opportunity. He began to cultivate the good graces of Prince Henry — to humor his tastes, to mould his mind, to yield to his prejudices. With a keen eye to the future, he so played the game, that Henry the Eighth, when he ascended the throne, loved no man better than his obsequious chaplain. The king was easy tempered, licentious, self-indulgent, vain, wilful; Wolsey was cringing, worldly, and crafty. He became Henry's closest confidant and nearest adviser. He relieved Henry of the cares of state, and provided everything to gratify his passions. As may be imagined, his rise was rapid. The king showered upon him his choicest favors. Wolsey became a bishop, an archbishop, a cardinal, and lord chancellor. He had prebends, and deaneries, and parishes, whence money poured by thousands into his coffers. His income became larger than that of the crown. He gained such an ascendancy over the king, that Henry had no other favorite, and the ministers were but the echoes of the cardinal's will. He received ambassadors, legates, and lord mayors in his own palace, while Henry spent his days in sensual pleasure. All the burden of government fell upon Wolsey, all the sweets of royalty were enjoyed without hinderance by the king. The monarchs of Europe paid the minister

that deference which was due to royalty. Wolsey's whole effort was to retain the affections of Henry; for Henry had a will, and it must be kept asleep, or it would rise and destroy. Wolsey's sole dependence was on the king; for beyond the king there was no friend so powerful as to hold him in his place. Not content with so great an eminence, the cardinal, with a rapacity of ambition never excelled, intrigued for the popedom; but it was only as a means by which to gratify the gross passions of his low-born nature. Wolsey's character was a singular mixture of intellectual strength, avarice, vanity, and sensuality. As a statesman he displayed a vigor and activity which seems wonderful, when we reflect how licentious, how gluttonous, how vicious he was. His administration is marked by the power, the prosperity, and the activity which England, during its term, enjoyed. He was bold in all his public measures; unscrupulous in the imposition of taxes; tyrannical in the exercise of the judicial office; insolent towards foreign nations; indefatigable in executing Henry's will as directed by himself. While he possessed a great desire for riches, he was magnificent in their outlay, and his vanity took the ostentatious turn of erecting palaces, displaying equipages, employing a numerous and splendidly clothed retinue, and in giving the most sumptuous banquets and pageants. His predominant passions were avarice and a love of display. He was

selfish to the heart's core. There was nothing truthful or sincere in his nature. He was a disgrace to the profession of divinity, for he was not pious, nor did he have the impudence to appear so. He was covetous and envious, cruel and implacable in his hatreds. Indeed, a contemplation of this singular man discovers to us but two amiable qualities—courage and hospitality. For women he had no reverence or respect; licentious himself, he only saw women in a light which might well make him despise the sex. Of their virtues he knew nothing; with their vices he was entirely familiar. When the king tired of his wives, they were treated with a brutality by this descendant of butchers, compared with which even Henry's neglect was happiness. He loved the society of vulgar men and dissolute women, and, while by day he governed with consummate ability a great empire, by night the noise of his revels scandalized the good citizens of the capital. His manners were of a piece with his nature, for they were coarse, boisterous, and arrogant. Having much pride of station, and being, as low-born favorites of kings are apt to be, eager to show his importance to those who approached him, he affected a dignity of demeanor which sat awkwardly upon him, and only increased the dislike which his character provoked. There was something attractive to the multitude in the splendor with which this man surrounded himself. His noble

palace, his numerous household, his gilded chariots, his brilliant raiment, the magnificent profusion of his feasts, struck the lower classes with wonder, and caused foreign envoys to lift their hands with profound astonishment.

There were in Wolsey's household no less than eight hundred persons, whose constant duty it was to serve the cardinal, and to ornament his dignity. One of his gentlemen ushers has left to us an account of one of his feasts, which was given in honor of some French ambassador, who had arrived at London to make a treaty with Henry. Cooks were sent for from every part of England. Two hundred and eighty beds of silk were prepared. The chambers were hung with arras and tapestries, and were lighted up by exquisitely chased silver candlesticks and chandeliers. The dishes, served on gold and silver, were of the rarest devices in the culinary art; and the wines were plentiful and costly. The cardinal's attendants who served at the feast were clothed in velvet, gold, and jewels. Such was the splendor in which he lived, and in which he loved to live. It seemed to be his ambition to be great that he might be ostentatious. In these feasts, which frequently took place, this father of the church participated, and was not surpassed by any in the coarseness of his jests, the loudness of his laughter, and the excess of his indulgence; and, bethinking himself far above the reach

of scandal, he was indifferent to the disgust of the community.

But Wolsey, though active in public affairs, neglected so to fortify himself with a high and virtuous statesmanship, as to render him, in some degree at least, independent of the king's caprice. Upon that slender thread he risked his destiny. He devoted his entire care to retaining the king; learned the arts of a courtier with such effect, that he was the most accomplished flatterer of his age; was under such self-government when in Henry's presence, that he could, without a twinge, balk his predominant passions; and, with a shrewdness which was never caught asleep, managed to keep at a distance the king's other counsellors, and to surround him with his own instruments.

But efforts the most untiring, and a craft the most subtle, are insufficient to keep a permanent hold on human caprice. Wolsey's ambition, so entirely insatiable, led him on to destruction. In his anxiety to keep well with the powers at Rome, he paid deference to their opinion regarding the divorce of Catharine. This, with some other acts of his, at last incensed the sluggish temper of Henry; and from the moment that Wolsey heard of the king's anger, he knew himself to be lost. The blow soon came. In 1529 Henry sent to demand of him the great seal, confiscated his personal estate, and dismissed him

from court. The enemies of the fallen minister in Parliament instantly seized the occasion to attack him. Forty-four articles of impeachment were drawn up, and he was summoned to appear before the House of Lords. That assembly passed the articles; but the House of Commons, through the efforts of Thomas Cromwell, rejected them. Wolsey retired, bowed with intense affliction, to his see of York, and devoted himself, rather late in life, to works of charity. But he was not destined to remain undisturbed, even in the seclusion of his priestly office. He was arrested on a charge of high treason, and committed to the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower. On his way to London, he fell sick at Sheffield; and there, unable any longer to sustain the destruction of his fortunes, he died in the midst of agony and remorse. It has been said that Wolsey put a period to his existence by poison. Such an act, if he did commit it, was not inconsistent with a career in which the salient features were corruption, debauchery, and ungovernable pride. He was not, however, so far depraved as to indulge in crime for the mere pleasure of being wicked. He was not accused of causing the death of any man who stood in his path. He did not use the power he possessed with wanton tyranny, and, excepting when money was to be obtained, or the king's and his own passions were to be pampered, the people were left at

peace. Under Wolsey's administration England was strong, and was respected and feared by foreign powers. He often directed his liberality to worthy objects, and one monument of his endowment remains in Christ Church, the most considerable college of Oxford University. Wolsey was hated by the court and the nobility, and by a large party among the people. His mean origin, whilst it scandalized the aristocracy and the church, made him popular with certain portions of the lower classes, who were proud of a man who had risen to such a height from their own grade. Wolsey's influence upon the morals of his age was very bad; his example to the priesthood in England, by inspiring the religious community with disgust at the church, doubtless hastened the approach of a reformation which caused its overthrow. His abilities, prompting as they did Henry's obstinate nature, and sustaining the king's determinations by vigorous and cunning measures, served to strengthen royal power, and to accelerate the extinction of the lingering vestiges of feudalism. The people had not then grown to that stage of civilization when they could organize and effectually resist the demands of the crown; and Wolsey's knowledge of men, and especially of Englishmen, taught him how far to venture, and in what manner to proceed. His career is wonderful for the perseverance with which he aspired to and retained the highest authority in the

state ; his virtues were few, his vices many ; his fame is an unenviable one, and yet there is a fascination in his history, and it makes us sad when he falls at last, stripped of every honor and hope, and seeking death as the only sure refuge from his unparalleled misery.

Cardinal Richelieu possessed every advantage which wealth and rank could confer. He was descended of the best blood of France. He was heir to a substantial fortune. He was born and reared, lived and died, in the metropolis which was the scene of his remarkable career. He was the son of François Duplessis, Baron Richelieu, and his own family name was Armand Jean Duplessis. His education was of so elaborate a nature, that while still a youth he was called learned. That military capacity which displayed itself at Rochelle, to the amazement of a court which conceded to him a wonderful variety of powers, was an evidence how warlike a nature was concealed beneath the sacred lace. This warlike nature had been early developed, and Richelieu had at first designed to adopt the army as a profession. It happened, however, that there was a bishopric in the nomination of his family—the diocese of Luçon ; and this, before Armand's choice of a military life had become definitely fixed, became vacant by the resignation of an older brother. Richelieu, thus early, had conceived a high ambition, and was eager to approach eminence by a short path. Abandoning the

thought of following the campaigns, he, with a surprising readiness, began to substitute the Latin treatises and prosy homilies of the doctors for his text books on tactics and thrilling histories of war. While he, no doubt, adopted theology as a matter of convenience, he yet had a respect for religion, and an ingenuous reverence for the Romish church. He was encouraged by his family, who — as families are apt to do — appreciated his fine talents and ambitious tone, to look forward to the highest distinctions of France. At the age of twenty-two, he was duly consecrated as bishop, and straightway laid his plans for advancement. He was less assiduous in performing the local duties in his diocese than in attending conferences, securing appointments, and in mingling in those political machinations to which the church of Rome has ever been addicted. His active participation in church affairs; the unusual intelligence which, for one so young, he displayed; the sleepless activity which marked his actions; the astonishing acuteness of his mind, — soon drew to him the attention of his colleagues, and attracted the notice of the higher dignitaries of the church. Richelieu was ever watchful of his opportunity. He detected at a glance the effect of acts and events upon his own fortunes. He studied constantly wherein to better himself. He by no means confined himself to researches in theology, though upon these he bestowed

great attention ; he also informed himself in principles of the martial art, of history, of diplomacy, of finance, of law, of public economy, and of every branch of statecraft and political machinery. The church in those days was a wide portal by which to enter the service of the state ; the time had not gone by when priests and bishops were the ablest ministers and most trusted advisers of kings. No man knew this better than Richelieu ; and his ambition promptly directed him in the path towards political power. He assiduously attached himself to those who possessed influence at the Louvre, and ingratiated himself into the favor of men who knew the mode of approaching power. Through Barbin, comptroller of the royal treasury, he became known to the Marshal D'Ancre. Marshal D'Ancre attracted to him the notice of the queen dowager, Marie de Medicis. Thus bright were his prospects at thirty. Marie de Medicis gave the young prelate audience, liked him at first sight, and told him to repeat his visit. He became intimate with the palace, and was taken into the dowager's confidence. There was one circumstance from which he, at first, anticipated great obstacles. The young king, Louis the Thirteenth, a weak and whimsical prince, conceived a dislike for the new favorite of his mother. Louis neither comprehended the tone of Richelieu's mind, nor liked his energetic and aspiring manner. But Louis, after all,

possessed no firmness, and his dislikes were as harmless as his ideas were absurd. Marie de Medicis was still the virtual sovereign ; she neither asked nor cared to know what Louis thought. So, in spite of the opposition of the king, Bishop Richelieu was nominated a member of the council of state. Here he found an ample field for the exercise of the subtle arts of which he was a master. He had not long been a member of the council, before his superiority over the other advisers of the crown began to be apparent. Shrewd, able, and energetic, the measures which he proposed, and the advice which he gave, were adopted as the wisest suggested. But this tide of good fortune was not to flow on without interruption. Marie, his devoted patroness, more than suspected of complicity in the murder of Marshal D'Ancre, was compelled to retire with ignominy from the capital. Richelieu saw this with alarm ; the king was still prejudiced against him ; the power which had sustained him was gone. With all the finesse of which his nature was capable, he endeavored to reconcile mother and son ; but his efforts were of no avail. He himself was ordered to depart from Paris, and to reoccupy his restricted sphere as bishop in the diocese of Luçon.

Richelieu took advantage of the abundant leisure which was now at his disposal, in writing some theological essays, which gave evidence that, had he con-

finer his attention to his profession, he would have become eminent. It was found quite impossible to suppress Marie de Medicis, and she after some time returned to her apartments in the Louvre, and resumed the control of the state. Richelieu was now not only recalled, but was restored to his seat in the council, married his niece to a duke, became prime minister, and, beyond all, was made a cardinal. This series of distinctions was conferred upon him when he was but thirty-seven. Louis was constant in his dislike of Richelieu; yet Richelieu seems to have acquired and retained the premiership without the least regard to the king's wishes, and unimpeded by a single remonstrance.

The great career of Cardinal Richelieu began from this point, — a career as splendidly successful as any which French history records, — surpassing that of any subject, and equalled only by those of Louis the Eleventh, Henry the Fourth, and Louis the Fourteenth. He had no sooner assumed the highest office, than the whole control of the sovereignty centred in him. His strong mind became visible in every act of public policy, in every treaty, in every regulation of police. Louis was never heard of: all that was known of the king was, that he existed; that on such a morning he went from Paris to Versailles; or that on such a night he danced at a ball in Gaston's palace. The broad aims to which Richelieu now devoted him-

self were no less than the consolidation of the French monarchy, the extinction of feudalism, the eradication of Protestantism, and the annihilation of the power of Austria on the continent of Europe. His great mind grasped the situation of Europe in a moment. He saw the necessities and the opportunities of France. He gave himself up to the work of her exaltation with all the glowing energy of his character, inspired alike by ambition to sway the destinies of the continent, and by the thought that he was serving his beloved France. He aimed successive blows at the Austrians and the Protestants — drove the former from the western passes, attacked and conquered in person the stronghold of the latter at Rochelle. Protestantism ceased to be a political power in France. Richelieu, with equal success, set about subduing the high spirit of the nobility, prohibited duelling, and boldly threw the haughtiest nobles into the Bastile. In a few years the aristocratic influence in the state had visibly declined, and the nobility had been brought into complete subordination to the royal authority. Having thus dealt Austria and Protestantism effective blows, and humbled the feudal element, meanwhile retaining the entire power of the crown in his own hands, he met with a second obstacle to his government. The Duke of Nevers continued to exercise an independent authority in Mantua. Richelieu attacked him. Nevers was a favorite of Marie de Medicis and

of Anne of Austria, the queen of Louis. For the first time Marie and Richelieu were at variance; and the difference, so suddenly sprung up, soon increased to a mutual hatred. Richelieu was dismissed from the court; Marillac was nominated premier. As the great minister retired, he was assailed by insult and ridicule, not only from the populace, but from those very courtiers who had cringed upon him and partaken of his favors. The new premier received the gross flatteries which always welcome a new authority. Richelieu instantly turned towards Versailles: Louis was there, idling away his time in frivolous sports. The cardinal had conceived a strange idea: he would reconcile the king to him, and through him return to power. Few men would have ventured on this expedient, and no other man could have been successful. But Marillac had hardly taken his seat at the council before the news came that Louis and Richelieu were friends, and that they were on their way to Paris.

Richelieu, on resuming the seals of state, sternly revenged himself upon his enemies. Marillac was banished; nay, Marie de Medicis, the mother of the king, the widow of Henri le Grand, convicted of a plot against the minister, was driven from Paris, and went into exile. Richelieu continued in the course which he had formerly begun, and year after year — though assailed by kings and queens, threatened

constantly with assassination, hated by the nobility, distrusted by the people — augmented his own power, and strengthened the monarchy at home and abroad. When the issue presented itself, whether to take sides with Austria or with Protestantism, Richelieu, whose theology was less positive than his hatred of the Hapsburgs, sided with the Protestants. He was created a duke of France, and was now on the very pinnacle of earthly glory; being in fact a king, with more power and more wealth at his command than any former sovereign of France. It was a checkered and turbulent life; there were wars, rebellions, insurrections, mobs, conspiracies, executions: at every point Richelieu emerged successful. At the very acme of his fame and his power this illustrious prince died, his body exhausted by wonderful labors, but his mind active and restless to the last. This event occurred in December, 1642, soon after he had completed his fifty-seventh year.

The character and career of Cardinal Richelieu, as is apparent from the two sketches presented, were quite in contrast with those of Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey's ambition was an exclusively selfish one; his entire effort was for self-exaltation. Richelieu's ambition was not an exclusively selfish one; indeed, he had one object, for which, without doubt, he would have sacrificed himself without hesitation. To obtain power and glory for France, to save France from

calamity, he would have suffered martyrdom. He sought the head of affairs not more that he might be powerful, than that he might serve France. It is no rhetorical hyperbole when Bulwer makes him say, —

“I have re-created France,” —

for France, under his rule, became the first of continental powers. He had great genius, and he was conscious of it: he knew that under the weak Louis, France would degenerate; he seized the helm, and France was powerful and prosperous. Richelieu was entirely unscrupulous in the means which he employed to accomplish his ends. He could be cruel, unjust, a tyrant, a dissembler, if by being so he could succeed. Wolsey was made and was destroyed by the nod of a king; Richelieu made himself in spite of kings and courtiers, maintained himself against them, and died holding them at bay. Wolsey was avaricious and a debauchee; Richelieu cared neither for money nor society. Wolsey, though far from being a peaceable man, could never have fought a battle; much of Richelieu's fame rests on his personal siege of Rochelle. Wolsey was always in the world, out among men; Richelieu won his victories in the silence and gloom of his closet. Wolsey was generous; Richelieu had but little magnanimity, and no sympathy. Richelieu had by far the greater genius, and achieved greater things for France than Wolsey did for England.

Above all, the point in which the fame of Richelieu is more enduring than that of Wolsey is, that he proposed to himself, and successfully achieved, a great political idea : that idea was the annihilation of feudalism, the supremacy of the church, and the monarchy.

XI.

A CENTURY OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

1760-1860.

SIR EDWARD BULWER LYTTON, who is a statesman as well as a novelist, has wisely said that the rivalries of parties are "the sinews of freedom." Doubtless the example of his own country afforded him the ground for the reflection; for it is in a great measure owing to the activity of parties in Parliament and through the press, that Great Britain has, within the century just passed, made substantial improvements in her constitution. If, indeed, we consider the nations as a whole, we discover that the presence or absence of party zeal is attended by a large margin of liberty, or an undue influence exerted by some single department of government. If we contemplate the arbitrary polities of France, Austria, and Russia, we find the liberty of press and speech restrained, and only one ostensible party — that which sustains the reigning dynasty. If there be an opposition, — as of course there is, — it is repressed by the dominant authority, and finds vent only in low

mutterings and in secluded places. The promptness manifested by despots to quell even verbal opposition to their less important measures, indicates that they recognize in a free press, and in freedom of political action, a great step made towards their overthrow and the establishment of liberal ideas. Partisan rivalry, then, is a means resulting in liberty; while, on the other hand, its suppression is an indication of despotism. By considering the state of parties in the liberal polities of America, Great Britain, and Italy, we find that a vigorous, and yet constitutional opposition, quick to discern and to expose the errors of the party which is intrusted with the power, always professing to act in the spirit of the laws, and seldom descending to the arts of faction and intrigue, seems to guarantee a just equipoise between the inherently antagonistic elements of the executive and the people. The gradual development of civil liberty from the action of parties, each restraining the other, and each throwing its weight into an opposite scale, is admirably exemplified by the history of Great Britain within the past century.

It is well worth our while to contemplate the changes which, in that period, have taken place, and which, while they have preserved the genius of the ancient constitution, have yet so modified it that the preponderance of power, which a century ago resided in the crown, has been transferred to the representa-

tives of the people; and while they have not overthrown the monarchical form, they have certainly drawn nearer and nearer to the spirit of republican doctrines.

From the time of the abdication of James the Second to the accession of George the Third, the Whig party held the power almost without interruption. They had been chiefly instrumental in the achievement of the revolution. They had secured the succession of the Brunswick line. They possessed a majority of the old families and of the wealth in the nation. They had suppressed the rebellion which, in 1745, had threatened to dethrone the reigning house, and restore the heir of the exiled dynasty. In the opposition were mainly the nonjuring clergy and prelates, those who had opposed the revolution and the act of settlement, and those who, it was thought, did not look with disfavor upon the northern insurrections. The two first sovereigns of the House of Brunswick gave up to the Whigs the undivided confidence of the court, and left to them the control of the executive, while they themselves turned their attention to the care of their electoral dominions.

George the Third found the popular leader, William Pitt,* at the head of affairs. This statesman possessed to a remarkable degree the confidence of

* Afterwards Earl of Chatham.

the people. He had conducted with success and splendor a long and tedious war. He had brought to his administration order, promptness, and exactness. Never had minister been so successful in every movement, or so idolized by every class. It was hoped that the new king would continue so useful a servant. But George came to the throne under circumstances materially different from those under which his two predecessors had assumed power. He was a native-born Englishman. He had been educated by English tutors, and comprehended English manners, opinions, and institutions. His early life had been spent in the court of his father, Frederick, Prince of Wales, who, from his enmity to the king, had espoused the cause, and assumed the leadership, of the Tory opposition. He was, at the time of his accession, under the influence of the princess dowager, who was a bitter and persistent Tory, as well as a proud and ambitious woman. His own nature was self-willed, and he readily imbibed the precepts carefully impressed upon him in his early years, which persuaded him that *he*, and not the people, was the true source of law and government. He ascended the throne with a fixed determination, not only to secure the royal prerogative in its present limits, but to elevate it to the paramount authority in the constitution. To recover the power which had been wrested from the Stuarts, to bring the House

of Commons into subordination to the crown, and to acquire for himself an unlimited control over commerce, the colonies, the army, and the treasury, were the designs which the young monarch proposed to accomplish. Within a year after his assumption, so vigorously had he pursued his policy, the whole aspect of the administration was changed. Pitt and Temple had gone over to the benches of the opposition, followed by the flower of the Whig party. Lord Bute, a shallow and pedantic Scotchman, sat at the head of the treasury. One by one the old ministry had retired, — some bought off, others disgusted, others treated with contempt by the king and his favorite. The new ministers were entirely devoted to the doctrines of the sovereign. Bute, who was to him rather as a father than as a subject, had greatly contributed to crowd his mind with exalted notions of kingly power. The first step of the new administration was to deprive the Whig leaders of all the influence which could be brought to bear against their designs. All departments of the government swarmed with eager disciples of Toryism. But the premier, who had always been hated, not less because he was a Scotchman than because of his arbitrary opinions, capricious intellect, and unbounded influence over the king, soon fell before the storm which burst upon him from all sides. Grenville succeeded him, and followed in the same rigid prin-

ciples which had contributed to the downfall of Bute. The king was soon obliged to recall the Whigs to power; and under the Marquess of Rockingham the nation enjoyed for a brief period a slight degree of security. Then followed the long and arbitrary ministry of North, and the short ones of Rockingham, Shelburne, and Portland, succeeded by the twenty years' government of the younger Pitt. During all this period there was a continual contest between king and people for the predominance of power; and in nearly every collision the court gained the supremacy. By interfering with the once undisputed privileges of Parliament; by exerting every instrument of patronage, from the creation of peers to the employment of secret service funds; by influencing, through threats, promises, bribes, arbitrary decisions, and all manner of corruption, the elections of members of Parliament; by encouraging, while the Whigs were in power, a factious opposition to the measures of his own ministers; by attempting to break up distinctions of party, which alone preserved a restraint upon his measures; by personal appeals to the loyalty of statesmen; and by assuming the almost exclusive direction of every branch of the executive, thereby annulling the authority and responsibility of ministers; by such artifices as these the king succeeded in arrogating to himself an extent of prerogative unknown since the revolution. Popular commo-

tions attested the extreme opposition to the measures of the court; and certainly the detriment which the liberties of the subject suffered warranted the greatest discontent. Such was the power of the crown over the elections, that the House of Commons could never be said to represent the clearly defined will of their constituents. The large towns, where alone independence of suffrage could at that day be expected, had no representation in Parliament. The boroughs were under the dictation of the nobility, the wealthy land-owners, and in many instances under the immediate control of the government. Where such influences did not operate, the court was enabled by means of lotteries, open sale, pensions, and every means of individual corruption, to carry its measures. If, after all such expedients, a powerful opposition appeared at Westminster, the agents of the ministry disbursed the secret service money, and thereby bought eloquence and votes to support regal power. In Scotland and Ireland these abuses of the electoral privilege were even more flagrant than in England. In vain did the Whigs introduce resolutions and acts curtailing undue influences, and increasing the number of legal voters. Not only did the ministry descend to the practice of bribing, but the king himself was frequently known to supervise this disgraceful transaction.

So shameless had this system of reducing the

House of Commons to submission become, that in 1762 Henry Fox, afterwards rewarded for his valuable services in this department of intrigue with a peerage,* opened a public shop in his official residence for the purpose of making disbursements to those members who were willing to be paid for their votes. It was by such means—which in his own age were hardly discountenanced, but which at the present day would be looked upon as flagrantly criminal—that George the Third obtained the coöperation of the lower House. By his numerous creations of peers, his pensions, his bribes in the form of loans and contracts, and their own natural predilections in favor of the crown, he also engaged the House of Lords to coöperate with him. By this undue influence of the crown, many liberties of the subject, heretofore thought established, were compromised. The king insisted on a rigid enforcement of the test act, and other intolerant measures, and refused to listen to a proposal for the abolition of statutes by which Roman Catholics and dissenters were excluded from office. His course in persistently claiming the right to tax dependent colonies needs no remark from this side of the water. Although the right of petition had been acknowledged under a tyrannical Stuart, this Brunswick monarch reproved those who exercised it, and refused to receive their complaints. While

* As Lord Holland.

he declined to be considered as himself responsible for the measures of his government, he also denied that his ministers were so; thus depriving the Commons of an important remedy—that of impeachment. In like manner the freedom of the press was greatly abridged, and repeated prosecutions for libels discouraged free discussion.

The ministers of the crown looked to the king, and not to the people, for their security in office. Men ambitious for peerages and pensions, peers ambitious of the Garter or lord lieutenancies, statesmen ambitious to shape domestic or foreign policy, sought prominence in the anterooms of St. James's, and not on the floor of Westminster. In this turbulent, but on the whole successful reign, the sovereign had the satisfaction of governing in spite of the national will. George the Fourth succeeded to the regency in 1812, and to the throne in 1820. His early proclivities had been favorable to the liberal party, mainly because he hated his father, and his father was a Tory. But indolent and pleasure-loving as he was, he had the sagacity to perceive in the policy of Lord Grey the curtailment of royal power, and a consequent struggle between the aristocratic and democratic elements of the constitution. He had no sooner entered the regency, therefore, than he deserted the friends of his younger days, and cordially allied himself to such radical Tories as the Earl of Eldon and the Earl of Liver-

pool. To such a height had the paramount authority of the crown been raised by the brilliant and popular government of the younger Pitt, that the mere preference of George the Fourth for the Tories entailed that party on the country up to his death in 1830. But there was vastly more liberty and popular power in the reign of this king than in that of his predecessor.

That patriotic band of statesmen who had continually labored for years to insure to the people a just participation in the control of the government, had gradually gained importance and influence by the pertinacity with which they adhered to their great object, and the increasing intelligence of the people. Lord Chatham had opened the question of parliamentary reform in the early part of George the Third's reign. It had been, of course, received with extreme disfavor by the king and lords, and therefore proved abortive. But the example thus set brought each year new and able champions of the cause into the field. Such statesmen as Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and Windham dealt powerful blows at the undue influence of the crown and great landholders in popular elections, the corrupt disposal of public moneys, and the slavish acquiescence of ministers in the policy of an arbitrary monarch. The younger Pitt commenced his political career by advocating the same cause; but unhappily seduced by the favor

of his sovereign, having acquired power by sustaining the prerogative, and retaining no security for his position except the coöperation of the royal influence, he deserted his early principles, and became the ablest and most ardent antagonist of the reformers. Having resigned the treasury because he could not carry the Catholic bill with the consent of the king, he again returned to office by acquiescing in the abandonment of that measure. The great race which had opened the question of reform had now passed away; and were succeeded by the upright Grey, the stubborn Grenville, the liberal-minded Romilly, and the brilliant Brougham. It was the glory of these men, that although excluded from office for a quarter of a century, they continued steadfast in the pursuit of the object to which they had from youth devoted their whole energies.

Probably the individual character of George the Fourth alone prevented the consummation of parliamentary reform for eighteen years. Sustained by such intellects as Peel, Wellington, Eldon, Castlereagh, and Stowell, continuing to exercise the prerogatives of honors, pensions, secret service bribes, and himself popular among all classes, he maintained a successful opposition to the proposed innovations upon the old system of suffrage. But the public mind became more and more impatient as years confirmed regal power. The party, which had been but

a handful in 1780, became in 1820 a vigorous and dangerous opposition. The press, whose rights had been successfully asserted in the preceding reign, was now unrestricted, and was enabled to present powerful arguments in favor of innovation. Universal public opinion had forced the discontinuance of many species of bribery. The proceedings of Parliament became as well known at York and Dublin as within the precincts of Westminster Hall. The rapid progress of liberal ideas is well illustrated by the various divisions of the House of Commons at different times. In 1793 Mr. Grey, afterwards Lord Grey, made a lucid and forcible statement of the abuses of the electoral system, and moved the consideration of that question; which was negatived by a vote of forty-one to two hundred and thirty-two. Lord John Russell opened the subject again in 1822, and was defeated by a vote of one hundred and sixty-four to two hundred and sixty-nine. A proposition to enfranchise the great commercial towns, in 1830, was rejected by one hundred and forty to one hundred and eighty-eight. The reform bill of 1831 passed the House of Commons by a majority of one hundred and nine.

We have mentioned one cause of the retardation of reform — the inequality between the first and third estates of the realm — the king and the Commons. To this must be added another — the influence of the

French revolution. While, on the one hand, that event frightened many statesmen, who had before embraced liberal doctrines, back into conservatism, and thus deprived the reformists of many illustrious advocates, on the other hand, it brought into existence a spirit of fanaticism, which called loudly, in the language of Robespierre and Barère, for "universal suffrage," and "equality of rights." This class, who insinuated themselves into the confidence of the ignorant and disaffected, became represented in Parliament and the press. Composing, as they did, a wing of the reform party, though the latter by no means sympathized with their creed, the people inferred that by taking one step towards innovation, the nation might be led on to take further steps, and finally drift into all the consequences of a pure democracy. These fanatics became, therefore, extremely embarrassing as auxiliaries to the Grey party. If the latter attempted to introduce a moderate system of improvement, they received, on the one hand, the unwelcome plaudits of the democrats, on the other hand, the scathing insinuations of the conservatives. The calm and philosophic mind of Burke, shocked at the anarchy and atheism of the Jacobins of Paris, became a sincere convert to high prerogative and restricted suffrage. The Whigs were dispirited at these manifold disparagements, and the cause of reform slept for many years after. Excepting occasional wild projects, pro-

posed, in spite of repeated repulses and disgust, by such mob leaders as John Wilkes, hardly an attempt was made to remodel in any way the inequitable precedents of the constitution. Finally, in the year 1831, the second of the reign of William the Fourth, a reform bill passed Parliament and received the royal assent. This measure is deservedly regarded by Englishmen as equal in importance to such papers as the Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Declaration of Rights. It was in substance the same plan which had been persistently adhered to for a quarter of a century by the opposition, and was conducted through the legislature by such advocates as Brougham, Grey, Russell, Lambton, and Althorp. A king had at last mounted the throne who cared more for the welfare of his people than for the extension of his power. An immense majority of the nation was now enlisted on the side of reform. The two estates of king and commons coöperated for the first time since the downfall of the elder Pitt. Royalty had left its natural ally, the aristocracy, and had coalesced with its rival, the democracy. The House of Peers, naturally conservative, and made doubly so by the exclusive creations of Tories for fifty years, alone opposed itself to the grand result towards which every other element of the constitution was irresistibly tending. But the least powerful estate, with all its wealth and prestige, could not resist the impulse of every other force combined.

To prevent a catastrophe equally degrading to their dignity, and destructive of their power, the bill was suffered to pass by the absence of opposing lords.

This measure was remarkably adapted to preserve the spirit of the national fabric, while at the same time it renovated and purged it. The crown still possessed an equitable control, and the peers continued to exert a balance power, while the true source of government, the people, were exalted to the preponderance. To prevent the unjust influence of the landed gentry over elections, fifty-six rotten boroughs were disenfranchised, and thirty more lost each a representative. To give a voice to the unrepresented multitudes of the manufacturing and commercial towns, forty-two of these obtained electoral rights. The inequality with which the right of franchise was distributed, demanded and acquired the remedy of a property qualification. The representation of counties, before controlled by resident nobles and gentlemen, was so extended that the electors became independent. The minor abuse of expensive hustings was corrected by ample regulations for methodizing the manner of election. The same defects, which appeared in greater magnitude in Scotland and Ireland, were in these countries remedied by similar provisions. Thus, by a wide and comprehensive reform, were many thousands admitted to a participation in the government. The Houses of Commons

became not only the reflected will of the people, but also the paramount authority of the state; and, as the acquisition of power by responsible persons is apt to make them moderate and cautious, the popular estate became less violent for privilege, and more inclined to coöperate with the more stable branches of the legislature. The sovereign, less disposed to encroach upon antagonistic power, because of the limits which restricted his prerogative, cordially united with the Commons in the construction of laws for the common prosperity. That suspicious jealousy which had formerly made the administration difficult and perplexing, gave way to a generous and mutual confidence. The effect of the reform has been to elevate the patriotism of all classes, to unite every interest, and to harmonize the formerly irregular operation of the constitution. The salutary principle of ministries responsible to the popular representatives, which was unheard of before the restoration, and which was but imperfectly maintained in the reigns preceding that of William the Fourth, now became systematic and irresistible. The last lingering trace of that feudal power which had enabled nobles to dictate the choice of legislators, and to derive from the possession of titles and estates an almost predominant influence, was now swept away forever; yet this sudden transition from regal and aristocratic to popular government fortunately involved no radical overturning of sys-

tems and customs, no riotous outbursts, no ebullition of frenzy and passion. All ranks acquiesced, most ranks rejoiced in the change. With the preservation of precedent and the monarchical character, an ample margin was secured for the modern developments of civilization. The benefits of ancient institutions were retained, their evils eradicated. The blessings of enlightenment were effectually secured, while many of its defects were excluded from a dangerous proximity to political power. While the system of bribery (a system too scandalously prominent in all free countries) remained uncorrected by the reformers, and while it seems impracticable to destroy it by the imperfect efforts of legislation, we may, nevertheless, look forward to its decline and gradual extinction, through the increasing refinement of public opinion. That element, to which all customs and manners are subject, which dictates every form into which civilization moulds itself, and in opposition to which despots and aristocrats are powerless, is undoubtedly destined to brand with a fatal stigma that pernicious system in which principle and honor are sold for the poor recompense of silver and gold.

Within the past century the privileges and powers of the Commons have become definite. The right to control the financial department of government; the right of choosing its own speaker; the right to judge of the conduct of its own members; the right of immu-

nity from arrest and seizure in civil prosecutions ; the right of publishing their papers, without the consequences of a libel ; the right to advise the executive in regard to questions of peace and war, and the ability to enforce that right by withholding the supplies ; the right to recommend a dissolution of Parliament ; the right to confirm or resist ministerial measures or persons ; the right to impeach members of either House before the high steward for official delinquency and private crime ; the exclusive right to tax the people whom they represent ; all these, before precarious or uncertain, have been established. The members, now dependent upon the favor of their constituents, and zealous to advance the manifold interests which they represent, are yet elected for a long term, and hence are neither the slaves of popular nor of individual caprice. The rapidly accumulating influence of commerce and manufacture, before excluded (partly because of their former comparative unimportance, and partly because of the bigotry of the landed gentry) from the national councils, is now a gigantic power to enforce an equitable system of trade and maritime treaty. The triumph of the late Richard Cobden, in concluding a treaty with France, which insured prosperity and wealth to the great busy marts of England, is an admirable proof of the transition from agricultural to commercial predominance.

Having now observed the changes which have

transformed the House of Commons from a subordinate to a superior estate, let us briefly consider the House of Lords as it has been and as it is.

The numerical increase of this body within a century is more than double the number of peers who welcomed George the Third to the throne. Henry the Seventh summoned but twenty-nine temporal lords in the first year of his reign. In James the First's time there were fifty-nine; while the Stuarts augmented the number to one hundred and fifty. The union with Scotland brought into the House sixteen representative peers, in the reign of William the Third. In 1760 there were one hundred and seventy-four, besides minors, Catholics, and bishops. The ministers of George the Third adopted a line of policy which obliged them to derive a distinct and hearty support from the aristocratic body; their only course, therefore, was to throw into the House a multitude of men devoted to the court. In the twelve years of Lord North's administration, thirty new peerages were created. The younger Pitt raised to this hereditary dignity no less than one hundred and forty persons; and in 1801, on the union with Ireland, twenty-eight representative peers sat in the United Parliament for life, in addition to four bishops who represented the Irish Episcopal church; thus making an increase of one hundred and seventy-two votes in seventeen years. George the Fourth, William the Fourth, and

Victoria, found less occasion for thus swelling the aristocratical element ; and in their reigns, extending from 1820 to 1860, one hundred and fifty-nine peerages have been created. In 1860 there were four hundred and sixty members of the House of Lords — nearly three times as many as there were at the accession of George the Third. Of this number there were twenty-six English and four Irish bishops, sixteen Scotch and twenty-eight Irish temporal lords. The rapid augmentation of the number of this body is not more noticeable than the changes which have transpired in its character. New and hitherto foreign elements have amalgamated with that of aristocratic blood. Other interests besides those of territorial possessions and illustrious descent have been introduced into the hereditary council of the empire. Merchants, whose wealth and enterprise have made them exponents of the national commerce ; generals, who have defended English rights and avenged English wrongs ; admirals, who have successfully maintained British supremacy on the seas ; orators and legislators, whose counsels in the lower House have marked them as proper objects of royal favor, or whose ability has made it necessary to transfer them to the leadership of the upper House ; diplomats, by whose art peaceful victories have been won ; lawyers, who have risen to the higher grades of the profession ; all these widely-diversified classes have been admitted to a representa-

tion among the proud nobles who trace their lineage from the Howards and De Veres, the Talbots and Beauclerks, the Pelhams and Montagues. The effect of these creations has been to infuse a modern and popular spirit where was before an exclusive and antiquated devotion to precedent. While the great increase of their numbers may be thought to have diminished the dignity of the order, it has also elevated their intellectual and political standard. The ablest men of all professions and pursuits have become incessant participants in legislative deliberations. The sovereign has a perpetual source whence to derive able ministers. The measures of government and of the opposition bring to their defence the most acute minds and the most profound learning in the country. Commerce and agriculture, science and polite erudition, eloquence and logic, the church and the sister kingdoms, all have a voice among the peers of the realm. The House of Commons, therefore, is not the only body which has become more representative in its character. A progressive and liberal spirit has begun to mark the proceedings in the upper House. That tenacious adherence to ancient forms, which made the lords a perpetual restraint upon the multiplying calls of advancing civilization, is rapidly becoming as lifeless as those forms themselves. Even the hereditary nobles, whose titles have come down to them through centuries, begin to catch the modern



activity which they find in all the other elements of their polity. The houses of Devonshire, Bedford, Argyle, Sutherland, Lansdowne, and Norfolk, illustrious not less in their antiquity than for the long succession of eminent scions which they boast, and superior in dignity and hereditary wealth to the greatest Tory noblemen, now stand forth earnest and powerful champions of the doctrines of reform and the just rights of every class. If anything could prepossess one in favor of a dominant aristocracy, it is the spectacle which these peers present, of a disinterested and zealous love of their whole country.

The small representations accorded to Scotland and Ireland in the upper House at first strike one as greatly disproportionate to the whole number. But the proportion becomes less unequal when we consider that many Scotchmen and Irishmen sit as British peers, beside those who are elected from among their own nobles. Of twenty-fives dukes, none of whom are representative peers, five are Scotch by birth and prejudice, and one Irish. Of thirty-two marquesses, seven are Scotch, and nine Irish. Of one hundred and sixty-three earls, twenty are Scotch, and twenty-three Irish. Of thirty-one viscounts, there are six Irish, and one Scotch. There are also seven Scotch and twenty-eight Irish barons. We thus find that, inclusive of representative and spiritual peers, Scotland is represented by fifty-six, and Ireland by nine-

ty-nine lords. Even these numbers hardly correspond with the relative population of the countries, and the relative antiquity of their respective nobility. Almost all the peers, however, who, being Scotch or Irish, sit as independent British peers, have been elevated to that rank within the past century ; so that there is evidence of a more liberal spirit in the treatment of her sister kingdoms by the dominant nation. All peerages at present are hereditary, with the exception of the prelates, who hold their seats for life. The question of life peerages has sometimes been mooted, but has ever been resisted by the House itself, as tending to destroy the hereditary, and hence independent, character of the body. It has occasionally occurred that women have been created peeresses for life ; but this species of nobility was mainly confined to the cunning mistresses of the Stuarts, and the fat and stolid dames who delighted the rude fancy of the two first Georges.

The occupation of seats by the prelates of the established church has given rise to many and earnest discussions. The Presbyterians of Scotland, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and dissenters of all sorts in England, have been ill-disposed to become the subjects of Episcopal legislation. But however violent the opposition of these classes, which, though every day growing, are yet far in the minority, the political bond between church and state continues

steadfast. The change of character which the episcopal bench has undergone within a century, partly reconciles the feeling of animosity against them. In the reign of George the Third, the prelates were not cautious to sustain their sacred character, and mixed in the gay world always with alacrity, and sometimes to a scandalous excess. So eminent a functionary as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cornwallis, so far forgot himself as to indulge in revelry with a large and boisterous company, within the very precincts of Lambeth; and so notorious was the fact that the king was forced to expostulate with him by letter. Devotion to sacred duties was secondary, at that day, to a morbid ambition for promotion, a bigoted party zeal, and the expensive luxuries of the capital. Public opinion has interposed to introduce into the prelacy an able and conscientious body of men, and the bishops now compose a most respectable branch of the constitution. Although there are doubtless some who are not to be proposed as models for incipient clergymen, the greater part appear conscious of the importance of their example, and if they possess vices inconsistent with their office, are careful to conceal them. For ability, there is not a more eminent class in the nation; and for activity in promoting the welfare of religion, they are far beyond their predecessors of the eighteenth century. Notwithstanding the prestige of antiquity, the constitutional authority, and the

great wealth which the nobility possess, their influence seems to be steadily diminishing. One of the causes which subverted the French aristocracy in the age between the accession of Louis Fifteenth and the revolution, was the coincidence between the interests of the people and those of the crown. That cause is at work in England, but more tardily because of the greater stability of that people, and the more intimate relations borne by the peerage to the constitution.

A thriving commerce and manufacturing enterprise are throwing great wealth into the hands of the middle classes; and these, together with the landed gentry, far outstrip in riches the entire aristocracy. This engine of influence, therefore, will doubtless soon little avail the latter. Their only resort, it appears, to retain their present, and recover their former power, must be in intellectual and moral superiority. With the exception of a small minority, the nobles are slow to admit this as a final recourse; but it becomes every day more apparent, that unless some effective position is taken, and some other ground sought, than birth and wealth, upon which to trust their security, they must eventually be swallowed up by the combined force of other and stronger elements.

So comprehensive have been the improvements which the mother country has undergone since 1760, that this imperfect consideration of the political changes cannot do more than give an idea of their extent.

We have seen that the royal prerogative has been definitely confined and recognized; that the nobility have ceased to control the popular estate, and to be the shield of kingly caprice; and that the commons have been elevated to the paramount influence in the political fabric. Equally beneficial have been the metamorphoses which have exalted the character of society. The moral tone of civilized circles has received a purer character, inasmuch as that vulgar colloquial taste which corrupted the highest classes a century ago is now only practised in bar-rooms and among the lowest orders. The elegant and polished association which has made Lansdowne House and Stafford House world-renowned, is in striking contrast with the boisterous gatherings which once scandalized Grosvenor Square and the Carlton House. That high standard of social communion which, under George the Third, was only to be found among the select literary coteries where Burke, and Reynolds, and Gibbon, and Johnson combined intellectual with social luxury, has now diffused itself among the aristocratic circles, and has superseded the coarse revelries of other days. Formerly, abject flattery, low wit, partisan rancor, and easy morals were the best credentials to an intimacy with nobles and nabobs; now, erudition and literary taste, courtesy of manner and affability of temper, are the requisites which enable men to mix with the great and wealthy. Literary

merit, before unrecognized, or at least not encouraged by the court, now receives homage from every rank of society.

From the earliest periods the agricultural interests of Great Britain have been nursed with peculiar tenderness, and formerly were enabled to subordinate the operations of commerce to the interest of landowners. Feudal customs had settled and made permanent the revenues of estates, and landholders had made the commercial interests of the nation subordinate to agricultural prosperity. The century just passed has witnessed the transition from landed to commercial predominance. The great towns of Manchester, Bristol, York, Birmingham, and Lancaster have entered into and influenced national legislation, and have successfully surmounted the restraints by which the enterprise of trade was confined. The reform was no less a triumph to philosophical liberty than to the interests of international traffic. At the present day there appears to be a salutary reconciliation between the demands of the two opposing forces of human industry. Commerce has not bereft agriculture of a just and substantial profit; agriculture no longer dictates the high tariffs which formerly fettered commerce.

A remarkable contrast presents itself between the history of England and that of France, during the period we have considered. The latter nation has

passed from legitimate monarchy to revolution, from revolution to despotism, from despotism back to legitimate monarchy, thence through two revolutions; and is once more reposing in the uncertain quiet of an absolute rule. So capricious and aimless have been the efforts of that people to achieve a free government, that, after all the distresses of anarchy, they have failed to attain that which, without any disastrous events, England has attained. Starting together in 1760, under the government of an arbitrary king, possessing a proud aristocracy, and a restricted suffrage, nothing is more illustrative of the difference of character between the Anglo-Saxon and the Celtic races, than the grace with which the former have acquired what with infinitely more effort the latter have utterly failed to acquire. One hundred years have profited France but little, while they have regenerated the British people, as well as the British constitution.

No period has so exalted English literature as that between 1760 and 1860. Every department of letters has received illumination from the great votaries who have appeared since the accession of George the Third. As historians, Hume and Gibbon, Robertson and Macaulay, Hallam and Grote, already rank, in the estimation of the learned world, with Tacitus and Herodotus, Livy and Xenophon. The Scotch school of philosophy has superseded that of Germany, by

the works of Reid, Stewart, and Hamilton. Fiction has been reformed and made brilliant by Johnson, Goldsmith, Edgeworth, Scott, Thackeray, and Dickens. Poetry boasts an innumerable host of disciples, and has outstripped all other departments, not only in the amount, but also in the excellence, of its creations. The immortal Boswell and his patron Johnson, Southey, Lord Campbell, and Lord Russell have ably represented biography. Religion has found illustrious champions in Paley, Horsley, Hall, Chalmers, and Isaac Taylor. Criticism has also received more dignity from the writings of Carlyle, Brougham, Jeffrey, and Coleridge. The drama has emerged from the coarseness and levity which gave popularity to the "Beggar's Opera;" and the writings of Goldsmith, Bulwer, and Talfourd approve themselves alike to the understanding and the moral sense.

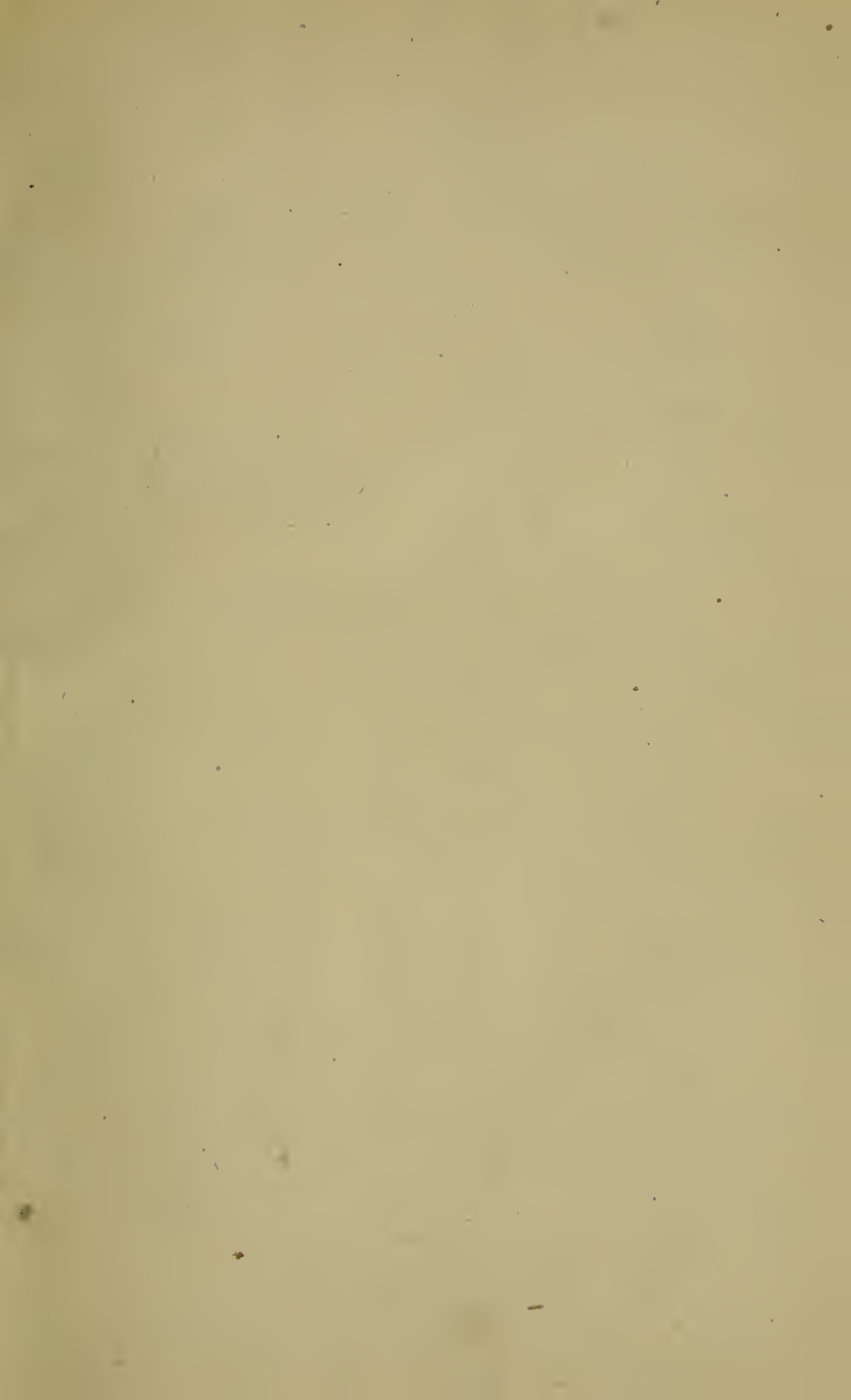
If now we turn for a moment to the quality of British statesmanship within the past century, we discover, amid much ability, activity, and enterprise, the same selfish fidelity to British aggrandizement of which their history is a consistent record. No period has displayed a more complete devotion to this national passion. On this question Tory and Whig, churchman and dissenter, unite on common ground. Party issues are ignored, and prejudices forgotten, when this magnetic influence acts upon the body politic. The despatches of foreign secretaries are

notorious for their ambiguity, their subtlety, and the virtue they always possess to bear a double interpretation. The maxim of Talleyrand, that language is given us to conceal our thoughts, has become the spirit of the despatches from Downing Street. The welfare of peoples, dynasties, and principles must yield to the ascendancy of England. The seeming inconsistencies in her history, when tested by this standard, are reduced to entire harmony. When we see her statesmen at one time excusing despotism, and at another encouraging a people struggling for liberty ; when sometimes she has united with other powers to demolish dynasties, and sometimes to reconstruct dynasties, we must look elsewhere than in the principles of philanthropy to explain her rapid transitions. The statesmen of the present day have not degenerated from their predecessors, in a rapt and exclusive love of British predominance ; and Lords Russell and Palmerston are noted for caution and cunning in the composition of despatches. We cannot place much confidence in the amiable assurances of a secretary who could, in the short space of two months, explicitly denounce, and then turn round and as explicitly encourage, the designs of Sardinia on Venetia ; and both in official despatches, in the face of all Europe.

We have endeavored, in the brief survey just attempted, to convey some idea of the various results which have come to the British empire from the expe-

rience of a century. That century, so pregnant with great events, not only on the continent of Europe, but also on this side of the Atlantic, has not been unattended with commotion and discord in the three kingdoms. Repeated warfare with their neighbors across the channel, the extension of their empire by conquest over India, vain attempts to retain in submission their subject provinces in America, the riots of Wilkes and Gordon, the long contest, successfully ended, with the first Napoleon, and numerous discontents of the people, and changes of ministries, have kept bright and active the energies of the British people. And amid the universal activity of that nation, literature and science, the peaceful pursuits of benevolence, of agriculture, and of religious zeal, have flourished, and have elevated the tone of every class.





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